

# FORUM

## The Submarine

E. J. PRATT

Still No Housing

Humphrey Carver

Denmark's New Constitution

R. Spink

Defeat In The East

Edgar McInnis

Free Speech In Saskatchewan

---

STORY

BOOK REVIEWS

O CANADA

---

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

## Board of Editors

G. M. A. Grube, Managing Editor  
Eleanor Godfrey F. R. Scott  
Earle Birney, Literary Editor

## Contributing Editors

H. M. S. Carver L. C. Marsh  
E. A. Forsey L. A. MacKay  
Helen Kemp Frye J. F. Parkinson  
F. H. Underhill

Treasurer: E. A. Havelock

Business Manager: L. A. Morris

## Publishers

The Canadian Forum Limited  
28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada

Subscriptions: One Year, \$2; Six Months, \$1

## Contents

### Editorials

Disarmament Legend ..... Eugene Forsey  
Blubber Bay ..... Barry Mather  
Defeat in The East ..... Edgar McInnis  
Free Speech in Saskatchewan  
Still No Housing ..... Humphrey Carver  
Three Ostriches ..... David Stevenson  
Denmark's New Constitution ..... Reginald Spink  
Fritz Brandtner ..... Helen Kemp Frye  
The Submarine ..... E. J. Pratt  
The Bay Mare's Indian Summer

—Phyllis Mary Clarke

Of A Smoothness ..... Mary Weekes  
Arms and the Profits ..... Robert F. Leggett  
O Canada!

Reviews by: E. J. Urwick, C. W. M. Hart, Mary  
Quayle Innis, Eleanor Godfrey, L. A. MacKay,  
Arthur Barker, F. H. Underhill, Herbert Orlicke,  
Helen Marsh, Leonard Marsh, Ernest Thomas,  
Edgar McInnis, Philleo Nash, C. A. Ashley.

Reading List

Books Received

## Our Contributors

BARRY MATHER is the editor of The Federationist, C.C.F. weekly in British Columbia.

REGINALD SPINK is a Canadian living in Denmark. His articles on Scandinavian affairs have appeared in various Canadian publications.

To Our Readers: The pressure of articles on political and social topics makes it difficult to find sufficient room for short stories of adequate length. It has been suggested that we should restrict ourselves to the very short short stories, or abolish them altogether as a regular feature. We should be interested to hear from such of our readers as have definite views on the matter before taking a decision.

Note: While unable to pay contributors, The Canadian Forum welcomes contributions of all kinds, fiction, political, social, literary and artistic criticism. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a self-addressed and fully stamped envelope.

## PICKERING COLLEGE

NEWMARKET - ONTARIO

### A Residential School For Boys EDUCATION FOR MODERN LIFE

Pickering College offers the kind of education that inculcates in your boy an understanding that goes beyond mere academic learning. It is our endeavour to equip him for citizenship in a changing world. In addition to the Matriculation and Business Courses, school life at Pickering promotes the physical, social and spiritual development of its students by offering a wide range of interests and supplementary activities — lectures and discussion groups on current problems, civic and economic — specialized library service — hobby clubs — vocational guidance — musical, artistic and dramatic interests. Seasonal athletic activities throughout the year.

For full information write the Headmaster,  
Joseph McCulley, B.A.

WHEN WRITING TO ADVERTISERS PLEASE MENTION THE CANADIAN FORUM

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

VOL. XVIII.

Trenton, Ontario, December, 1938

No. 215

## Unscrupulous Tactics

**D**R. Manion's attack on the C.C.F. in the London by-election campaign provides an excellent example of the unworthy political tactics that are undermining respect for democracy. He declared that the C.C.F. wished to "smash the system" (presumably by revolution), that the system it advocates is modelled on Russia, that it would bring an end to private property. Not one of these statements is true, nor can anyone but a political ignoramus believe them to be true. The Leader of the Conservative Party cannot be a political ignoramus. He must know that socialism increases the private property of the ordinary man, he must know that the C.C.F. is utterly averse to change by revolution, that the only private ownership it attacks is the monopolistic power of great corporations to hold the community up to ransom. He must surely have heard of New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries as having socialistic governments.

The most dangerous enemies of a healthy democracy are precisely those politicians who do not hesitate to deceive the electorate in order to get votes. And the electorate would do well to reflect that those who attack their opponents without any respect for the truth are not likely to be overscrupulous in carrying out their own election promises.

But Dr. Manion evidently believes that the old red herring of Communism is still a vote-getter. He may be right, though by this time it is a smelly sort of fish that will make those who swallow it very sick before long.

## Improper Statements

**D**ISRESPECT for the truth, however, is in no wise confined to the Conservative Party. Liberal politicians show no greater regard for it. The Minister of National Defence, testifying before the Bren Gun Enquiry on October 21st, confirmed, at his own request, the answer he previously made in Parliament to Mr. J. S. Woods-

worth, to the effect that Mr. Hahn had not gone to England in 1937 and 1938 as representing the Government. Evidence produced showed that at the beginning of the negotiations, in 1936, Hahn was officially treated as a representative of the Canadian Government by the British War Office. Mr. Mackenzie explained that "highest authorities" had advised him that the answer given was "proper." But there is worse than that. On June 10th, 1938, in referring to British orders for arms from Canada, Mr. Mackenzie said (Hansard, p. 4016, see July Forum):

"With reference to any orders to be placed in Canada, we have no more information than is in possession of the hon. member who asked the question. I think that that is as definite as I can make the statement."

We advise the Minister to consult the man in the street rather than the "highest authorities"; he will then find out, if he does not know it already, that such statements are not only improper, but that there is no "proper" word to describe them.

And such men pose as believers in democracy!

## Bren Enquiry Sidelights

**W**E hope to deal fully with the report on the Bren Gun enquiry at a later date, and to do what we can to prevent its being conveniently pigeon-holed—a fate the Government presumably intends for it. Meanwhile it is amusing to recall that Mr. Mackenzie declared in the House last session that "The Minister, himself, can take no credit for this contract . . ."; a prophetic statement no doubt, but one that indicates a very unusual situation, or at least we hope so, and one that demands attention very different from the inspired appreciations of General Lafleche which have recently appeared in the Press.

It is also obvious that Mr. Hugh Plaxton has been taking unto himself the fruits of office. It is now on record that this young legislator, but recently elected, has on several occasions been flown from Ottawa to Toronto by R.C.A.F. planes on regular duty! Do we hear insistent demands

for the increase of Canada's air force? And although a novice at Ottawa, he was able to pave the way for Mr. Hahn the radio maker, into official military circles as a potential armament manufacturer because of his "wonderful war record and the fact that departmental officials considered him very capable." Patronage indeed, without even the doubtful saving grace of benefitting those in need of help . . . and in the "Queen City," not Quebec.

### Under the Padlock

**F**RANCIS Xavier Lessard, who broke into his Fown home in Quebec city after it had been padlocked, (See September Forum), has now been sentenced to two years in prison. Joseph Drouin, who helped him in this heinous offence, got one year for obstructing the police. The case is being appealed. Meanwhile Oscar Kayne, Quebec Secretary of the Young Communist League, was arrested by the Provincial Police as he stepped off a street-car on the night of November 7th in Montreal. They took him to headquarters, searched his brief case, and compelled him to submit to being photographed and fingerprinted. Meanwhile police officers raided his home and confiscated "books, magazines and other objects, all pertaining to Communism." When asked whether they had a warrant for the arrest and search, the police replied that they were acting under the Padlock Law, and that no charge would be laid against Kayne unless the Attorney-General requested it. Thus the Padlock Law, which nowhere permits detention of individuals, and nowhere authorizes confiscation of literature, unless it is being circulated, is being used to justify any kind of illegal behaviour the police care to adopt. Canadians in Montreal, outside the Civil Liberties Union, now accept this sort of thing as a normal part of life in Quebec. The Montreal Gazette and Star, however, and all people with the right incomes, are unanimous that Canada must spend more money in preparation for the defence of democracy.

### The Railway Debt

**S**PEAKING at Port Arthur recently, Sir Edward Beatty took occasion to "correct" what he termed a "popular misconception" regarding the railway situation. "It was not true," he said, "that government burdens in connection with the C.N.R. were occasioned by the taking over of bankrupt private railways at more than their value. It was a matter of official record that more obligations had been incurred by the government in support of these railways since they were ac-

quired than their total capital obligations at the time they were taken over." This latter statement is quite true. But what Sir Edward omitted to add is that at least half of the additional obligations consist of capitalized deficits, a large part of which is certainly the result of taking over the "bankrupt private railways at more than their value." Down to 1932 the practice was to add each year's deficit to the capital on which the C.N.R. was nominally supposed to earn interest. Each year's deficit, therefore, helped to swell the following year's. The C.N.R. was charged interest on the excessive capital of the former private lines; then the amount by which it failed to meet this charge was added to the indebtedness and it was charged interest on that; then the amount by which it failed to meet this charge was in turn added to the indebtedness; and so on, cumulatively. Since 1932 the accounting has been changed, but the result, as far as the government's "obligations" are concerned, has been the same. In other words, the initial error of "taking over bankrupt private railways at more than their value" is directly responsible for at least a considerable part (precisely how large no one can say) of the "obligations incurred by the government in support of these railways since they were acquired." Sir Edward Beatty has evidently never heard of anything like compound interest.

### Frightening the British

**C**ZECHOSLOVAKIA has now been dismembered in accordance with Herr Hitler's wishes, the share given to Hungary was settled by him without even the trouble of consultation with the British or French—though it will be remembered that the British guarantee of Czechoslovakia's frontiers was "morally in effect," according to Sir Thomas Inskip, on October 4th . . . In spite of definite information that Italian troops in Spain have increased rather than diminished, the Anglo-Italian Pact has now been ratified by the British Parliament . . . out of its own mouth the British Government stands convicted of criminal negligence and incredible inaction in leaving London without adequate defences. Clearly, they never intended to fight. Even so, why these self-accusations, why these public confessions? One suspects a desire to terrify and cow the British electorate into not daring to oppose the next step in the Chamberlain plan: the starvation of the Spanish people into submission to the Fascists. The by-election at Dartford, however, gives some hope that the electors may not be quite so pliable to the wishes of their rulers. And the horrible outburst of anti-Semitic riots in Germany—clearly not spontaneous but organized by the



Nazis—will embarrass British policy. No doubt Mr. Chamberlain still thinks Hitler "unreasonable," in that he will not even act like a gentleman, when every help is given to him in the task of spreading reaction over Europe.

### For Democracy

**M**EANWHILE, Armistice week was turned into Armaments week and we were overwhelmed by a flood of oratory, a regular crusade for bigger and better Canadian armaments—even Mr. Hepburn, Mr. Pattullo and, more surprisingly, Mr. Lapointe have now joined the chorus led by the Minister of National Defence. The pretence is still kept up, in official quarters at least, that these armaments are intended for the defence of Canadian soil, but when Mr. Mackenzie speaks of the defence of democracy against "international gangsters," (a phrase Mr. Chamberlain would strongly deprecate), the pretence is getting pretty thin.

And it is all very confusing, for while, to Mr. Chamberlain, Munich was a triumph (as indeed it was), Mr. Mackenzie speaks of "the Gethsamene of Godesberg," as if there had been an unwilling surrender! It would be interesting to have a clear statement from our leading statesmen, our champions of democracy, of their attitude towards the struggle for democracy in Spain. It would also be reassuring if they gave some proof of their devotion to democracy at home, for it is evident that the drive for the militarisation of Canada is the most immediate and dangerous threat to Canadian democracy, unless strong and vigorous action is taken to preserve it. Such eagerness to defend so-called democracy abroad from a government notoriously backward in defence of democracy at home is not convincing. Unless the Government is prepared to champion freedom at home, will it not be obvious that, if we do fight abroad, we shall be fighting for something very different?

### "Blockade" in New Brunswick

**P**ASSED by censors in every other province of Canada and throughout the United States, the film "Blockade" has been condemned by the New Brunswick Board of Censors. Originally it was passed by New Brunswick also, and shown in Moncton, Edmundston, Bathurst, Sussex and other towns; but "after protests from various religious organizations" (pleasing euphemism) it was recalled by the Board and further showings were prohibited. On appeal, the prohibition was upheld by Judge Barry, of the Saint John County Court. His reasons, as set forth in an official statement,

are interesting: (1) "There is no mistaking the fact that the picture is the result of 'the Loyalists' sympathizers." (2) "Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that these same (food) ships carried war material to 'the Loyalists' and were very largely owned by foreign capital. It is well to have this fact in mind when taking note of a picture that sets forth those responsible for the destruction of such ships as being inhuman monsters and which picture carefully omits the idea of the carrying of war material." (3) "'Running the blockade' has rightly or wrongly come to be a means of warfare. The Allies used it against Germany in the World War and England may have to do so again against any aggressor." (4) "Such means of warfare is not more cruel than attacks from the air upon civilians." (5) "Aside from all this, it is a well known fact that Italy has supported 'the rebels' and that Russia has given her assistance to 'the Loyalists'. At the present time, the British government, through Italy, is endeavouring to bring peace to this troubled land and such a picture shown now would not only do no good but in my opinion do great harm to the efforts of Mr. Chamberlain in a worthy cause." (6) "This picture is very pointedly a picture made to create world sympathy for 'the Loyalists' and, considering world conditions today, I unhesitatingly say it is not proper to show it to the public." One hardly knows which to admire most: the learned judge's English, his zeal for law and order (exemplified by his decision that a picture which supports a friendly government against rebels is unfit for exhibition), his nice appreciation of the gradations of cruelty, his solicitude lest the picture create a bad psychology for future British blockades, his bland acceptance of the infallibility and inerrancy of the Italian government, or his concern lest the showing of a particular film in Saint John, New Brunswick, might embarrass Mr. Chamberlain's "policy of appeasement."

### The Republican Recovery

**B**Y the time these words appear, there may have been enough detailed information on the results of the American elections to make possible some definite conclusion as to their significance. At the moment of writing, the one certainty is that the liberal forces have not won a victory. But whether the forces of conservatism have gained a decisive triumph at the expense of the New Deal can only be decided on the basis of a fuller analysis than is possible at the moment. Meanwhile the elation of the Republicans—and of their blood brothers in Canada—seems a little

premature, except on the assumption that present party lines are wholly meaningless. There may be plenty of grounds for that assumption, but there are few signs that either Republicans or Democrats are ready to accept and act on it. The conservative element in the Democratic party will no doubt feel morally strengthened, but they will remain Democrats. They may try to moderate the President's policy, but they are unlikely to break with him completely. They may not like Roosevelt in the White House, but they will hardly be prepared to get rid of him at the price of a Republican victory in 1940. And so long as the Democrats hold together, their position is reasonably secure. They still outnumber their opponents in both houses by almost two to one. The Republican gains show that the party was at absolute rock bottom—it had no way to go but up. But it has a long way to go yet before it can be anything in Congress except a hopeful ally of the right wing Democrats.

### Roosevelt and Liberalism

**W**HAT really complicates the American political situation is the issue of liberalism versus conservatism which Roosevelt himself injected into the campaign. It is an issue which cuts across party lines yet which cannot ignore them. All the spasmodic talk in certain quarters about regenerating the Republican party by liberalising it has been completely fruitless. A few liberals may appear in the Republican ranks; but the destiny of the party as a whole lies on the extreme right wing. A liberalising of the Democratic party, however, is a task only slightly less drastic than the regeneration of their opponents. Only an effective assertion of leadership accompanied by a drastic purge of the diehard element, could accomplish it; and the failure of Roosevelt's inaugural efforts on these lines shows how formidable such a task is. The solid south keeps its hold upon the party. It will neither abandon its conservatism nor go over to the Republicans. Together with those northern Democrats whose tradition is that of Tammany Hall, it offers a solid bulwark to any radical advance. A leader who feels that he has to act with such people as Hague and Curley is seriously compromised in his efforts to impose a more progressive policy on his party. It is the failure of the Roosevelt purge rather than the actual Republican gains that lends the real significance to the political scene. It may be that the need for solidarity in 1940 will strengthen the President's hands. But until he wins the battle in his own party, the new liberalism will remain a confusing element with less real influence on the electorate than the old party labels.

## Disarmament Legend

E. A. FORSEY

**M**R. Chamberlain's admirers usually defend his behaviour during the recent "crisis" on two grounds: That war is never worth while, in any circumstances, and that British "disarmament" after the last war had left the country too "weak" to allow a "firm stand." That the arguments are inconsistent is manifest, and the first of them is likely to prove highly inconvenient to its authors. For if war is never justified, why the huge armaments expenditures of the last three years and the even larger expenditures which these same newly converted "absolute pacifists" are now demanding? The other argument is not only free of these difficulties but also an excellent stick to beat the Labour party with. So the propagandists are hard at work telling the public that Labour "disarmed Britain," and that now the only way to preserve civilization is to give Mr. Chamberlain all the armaments he asks for. It is a touching story, this tale of a defenceless Empire. It has only one disadvantage: that the British government's own figures show that it is entirely untrue. In the fourteen years between April 1, 1923, and March 31, 1936 (that is, from the end of demobilization till "re-armament"), the average British expenditure on armaments was over £113,000,000 a year, and the lowest expenditure in any year was £102,990,000. Moreover, throughout the period, the British navy was one of the two strongest in the world, far stronger than any other except the American. To call this "disarmament" seems a peculiar use of terms. To blame it on the Labour party, which held office (without a majority) for just three years of the fourteen, is grotesque, especially as the lowest expenditure was in 1932-33 under the "National" government, and the second lowest in 1923-24, a fiscal year which ended about two months after the Labour party took office for the first time. Indeed, from the official figures it is perfectly clear that Britain did not disarm after the war, and that, for good or ill, there was no appreciable difference on this point between what Labour governments did and what Conservative or "National" governments did.

Faced with these facts, the Chamberlain apologists fall back on a plea that British armaments have been "inadequate." To this the obvious answer is, "Inadequate for what?" If "inadequate" means "insufficient to take on the whole world single-handed," then of course no nation in modern history ever has been "adequately" armed and none ever will be. The only reasonable standard of "adequacy" is one which takes into account the strength of the probable antagonist or

antagonists, and the strength of probable allies. Anyone who will spend half an hour with the Statesman's Year Book can easily satisfy himself that, by this standard, at least till 1933, and probably till the "crisis," Britain was in general "adequately" armed. Air raid defence in the last year or so was probably inadequate, but the most that this means is that it got less than its fair share of an ample armaments budget. Stupidity and inefficiency in spending that meagre half billion dollars a year there may well have been. But stupidity and inefficiency do not constitute a policy of "disarmament," and British armaments at their smallest and worst would have been more than sufficient for a government that was following a genuine league policy. For a government which has destroyed the League, handed the keys of Gibraltar to Hitler and Mussolini, and left Britain without a single friend on the continent of Europe (France is a doubtful exception), no armaments will ever be sufficient.

## Blubber Bay

BARRY MATHER

**S**TORIES of company-town despotism have often blotted the record and history of organized labor in Canada. Such a story is that of Blubber Bay, little settlement built around a lime quarry on Texada Island where a bitter and bloody battle has raged between the Pacific Lime Company of New York and its 110 striking B.C. employees. The origin of the war at Blubber Bay dates back to July, 1937, when, hoping to secure much needed improvements in work and wage conditions, the workers at the lime plant formed a union. The company, during the three decades in which it had exploited resources and labor at Blubber Bay, had retained a free hand in dealing with its employees. Its reply to the workers' action in the summer of 1937 was to fire a score of the men who had taken a leading part in the union organization.

The Pacific Lime employees (their average length of service with the company was ten years) tried to get the dismissed men reinstated through negotiations under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of the province. This Act can certainly not be regarded as "pro-labor"—even now the need for its amendment is being urged by labor—but three government enquiries conducted under its terms found in favor of the employees in their dispute with the Pacific Lime Company.

The Company declined to implement the findings of the various commissions and the dismissed union employees were not reinstated.

Negotiations had occupied several months.

Then, having exhausted industrial dispute legislation requirements, having observed every employer-biased letter of the law, the Blubber Bay workers struck, demanding that the union men the company had fired be re-employed. That was five months ago. Since then there has been a war at Blubber Bay with clashes between the police and strikebreakers and the union's picket line leading to broken bones and prison terms; striking employees have been evicted from their homes, others have been beaten up and, suffering injuries, confined to hospital. On the one side there is the powerful company; there are the strikebreakers imported by the company to take the jobs and the homes of the old employees; there are the police, sent in and paid for by the government, who are guarding the strikebreakers as they operate the lime plant. On the other side are the strikers and their families, doggedly holding their picket line; the unions, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., giving moral, financial and even physical support to the little local at Blubber Bay. And there is the C.C.F.

The part the C.C.F. has played in this little dispute has won the acclaim of the labor movement in British Columbia. C.C.F. M.L.A.'s have gone into Blubber Bay, taken a stand with the men on the picket line, acted as union representatives in negotiations with the government and the company. They have put Blubber Bay and all it stands for into the headlines of the daily papers. And, at the present session of the B.C. Legislature, fighting to have a thorough investigation conducted into the whole Blubber Bay dispute, the C.C.F. members have made grave charges against the activity of the police the government sent into the company town.

So far the government has refused to initiate an enquiry.

In the meantime the plant at Blubber Bay is operating although the picket line still holds and although American Federation of Labor trades councils at Vancouver and Victoria have black-listed the Pacific Lime Company's products. Should powerful maritime unions down the Pacific coast follow this example, potential dynamite seems in store for operators on both sides of the international boundary line—a tie-up would certainly lead to clashes between the unions and the companies affected. But this and the future of the war at Blubber Bay is still shrouded in uncertainty.

What is perfectly clear to a great and growing number of British Columbia people is that while the Liberal government at Victoria has all the power in the world when it is a matter of providing policemen to protect strikebreakers and a foreign corporation, it somehow has no power at



all to carry out its own regulations, no power to implement the findings of its own industrial dispute commissioners, no power to lift a finger in defence of the jobs and the homes the workers will lose if they lose the war at Blubber Bay.

## Defeat In The East

EDGAR McINNIS

**E**VENTS in the Far East have once more offered striking proof of the world-wide integration of international politics. Whatever objections may be raised to the theory of indivisible peace, the indivisibility of a war world is only too painfully apparent. It is of course going too far to present the latest Japanese advance as entirely the result of Munich. But the spirit which led to Munich is the same as that which has made possible the unchecked course of Japanese aggression; and the demonstration of that spirit at Munich itself has removed any faint hesitation that Japan might have felt as a moderating influence on her Asiatic designs.

How far she will achieve complete success in those designs is still a matter for speculation. But if she fails, her failure will still have disastrous effects both for China and for the west. For whether or not Japan has won the war, the inescapable fact is that everyone has lost.

The effects on any hope for a collective system are only too obvious. Twenty years ago it could be assumed that, if the great European powers were in agreement upon a general course of policy, diplomatic considerations would be enough to secure the adherence of a Japan which could not risk isolation. Today no such assumption can be entertained. Even if Europe, by whatever painful road, should return to the task of creating a peace system based on the rule of law, the task of bringing Asia within such a system would be a separate and a highly formidable one. Japan's whole future, perhaps even her national existence, are now bound up with the establishment and the maintenance of her hegemony in the East. Only by retaining complete freedom in the use of force whenever and wherever her judgment decrees can these ends be attained.

Japan, of course, insists that her dominance is synonymous with the restoration of peace and order, and there are those in the west who would like to accept this contention. Its validity is doubtful in the extreme. What she is in process of creating is less a United States of Asia than an oriental Hapsburg Empire. However soothingly she may reiterate the word "co-operation," it is not equality but exploitation that must be the basis of her rule. This is true in her existing

mainland possessions, and her assiduity in creating new puppet regimes suggests that it will remain true for the conquered parts of China. This is what makes it so misleading to talk of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine. The original Monroe Doctrine sought to give the new republics of the American continent complete freedom to work out their own destinies. But Japan claims a direct and a paramount part in determining the destiny of the whole orient. Her methods can only be subjugation and control. But with nationalism alive in the east as it is today, such methods can never make for tranquillity. The revolt of Asia, under varying forms no doubt, will continue to be a disturbing factor in the world.

Meanwhile it follows, not only that peace has lost in the east, but that European imperialism has suffered an even more serious defeat. Those complacent optimists who once regarded Japan as a benevolent policeman whose chief concern was the protection of vested interests must surely have been disillusioned by the events of the past seven years. The door is no longer open in Manchukuo. It is practically closed in North China. Its closing in the remaining areas is only a matter of months. European interests in China are under notice of eviction in fact, whatever their position in theory. Japan's gamble is too desperate to allow for half-way measures. She must wring from the mainland the rewards that will redress her tottering economy. The slender resources available for the necessary development make a monopoly position imperative. Her success is doubtful even then.

The further implication of this precarious position is that Japan cannot call a halt at any given territorial boundary. All China itself may not be enough. If it offers new resources, it also imposes new burdens, which in their turn will impose the need of new resources, and so ad infinitum. The acquisition of Outer Mongolia has long been a set element in Japan's plans, and that in turn is only a preliminary step to the conquest of Eastern Siberia. But as the horizon widens, so do the strategic and the economic problems. The growing friction with French Indo-China symbolizes the new path southward which must supplement these efforts in the north. That path leads to the Dutch East Indies, to Malaya, and ultimately to India. Part of the road may be cleared by oriental equivalents of Munich. But, like Munich, these surrenders can only be brought about by the threat of force; and ultimately the actual use of force is certain to be necessary. The destiny of Europe is in the melting pot in Europe itself; but before it is finally decided, the orient will yet play a major role in the destiny of Europe and of the world.



# Free Speech In Saskatchewan

**O**N March 28th of this year Dr. Carlyle A. King, professor of English at the University of Saskatchewan, addressed the Saskatoon section of the Young Communist League on the subject, "Youth and World Affairs." In the course of his speech he suggested that the present government of Great Britain would go to war for only two reasons: to maintain the British Empire, or to prevent the spread of socialism in Europe; and he did not consider either cause worth fighting for. He urged the young people to keep their heads when they heard prominent speakers become emotional in describing the British Empire as the bulwark of world peace; to refuse to fight to maintain the profits of the British plutocracy; to oppose building of armaments by the Canadian Government because they will be used, if used at all, in support of British Government policy; and to work for social, political, and economic democracy at home to the utmost of their ability.

Unfortunately the heading placed on the newspaper account of his speech was "Should Not Fight for British Empire." The Moose Jaw branch of the Canadian Legion seized upon this heading, and demanded Dr. King's immediate dismissal from the staff of the University. This precipitated a flood of letters to the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, both condemning and approving what had been said by Dr. King; but the point at issue was not what he had said, but his right to say it. Such was the storm raised about the matter that Dr. King felt constrained to publish a statement pointing out that his view was neither anti-British nor unpatriotic:

"My view about British imperialism is not anti-British or un-British. Many people in Great Britain hold the view I expressed at the Y.C.L. meeting, namely, that young blood (British or Canadian) should not be spilled to defend those British imperial possessions which were acquired by force in the 18th and 19th centuries and are maintained by force to this day for the benefit of British plutocracy . . .

"There are various kinds of patriotism. One takes the form of being willing to drop bombs on women and children of 'enemy' nations; that, according to ex-premier Baldwin (House of Commons, November 10th, 1932) is what defense of the British Empire means. My love of Canada takes the form of working to see that every Canadian has good food, good clothes, good housing, a permanent job, and an income that will permit him to enjoy those forms of recreation and culture he likes; of urging our Government to co-operate with other nations to remove the causes of war and to establish a just peace; and of being willing to make personal sacrifice toward those ends. I leave it to candid minds

to say which form of patriotism is more Canadian or more in harmony with our professed religion."

This provoked an editorial storm which suggests that our editors should take a course in logic and study the history of the British Empire. The paper in Climax, Saskatchewan, printed this delicious comment:

"We may pride ourselves that we have the privilege of free speech, but that privilege does not give any professor of our universities the right to engage in propaganda speeches, especially when he expresses sentiments derogatory (sic) to the Empire on whose protection we depend to retain our freedom, not only of speech, but of life itself."

While the Ottawa Journal, though far enough removed from the scene of the crime to keep its sense of proportion, perpetrated this gem:

" . . . the question of free speech does not enter into the picture at all. The sole questions would be whether a man who holds—and declares publicly—that the British Empire is an imperialistic organization 'acquired by force . . . and maintained by force to this day for the benefit of British plutocracy' is wise enough, broad enough, sufficiently patriotic, if you like, to teach young Canadians."

The Regina Star and the Watrous Signal were also strong in their denunciations. Neither the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix nor the Western Producer, surprisingly enough, expressed any editorial opinion on the matter.

The Prince Albert Legion, determined not to be left behind, passed a resolution expressing their sympathy to the ladies of the I.O.D.E. for once having sponsored such an ungrateful wretch and requested that "any measures necessary to protect students from possible subversive influence be taken at once." The I.O.D.E., by the way, never at any time publicly criticized Dr. King for his utterance. The Wadena branch of the Legion "earnestly requested that Professor King be never again asked to appear on a public platform in Wadena."

But it should not be thought that Professor King found no supporters. The Regina Leader-Post declared itself in favour of "letting professors use their minds and speak their views." Many letters in his defence were printed in the Star-Phoenix Letter Box and, in view of the almost unanimous condemnation from various branches of the Canadian Legion, the following from an old soldier who signed himself No. 910783 deserves quotation:

"By his exercise of the privilege of freedom of speech, Professor King has shown his appreciation of the liberty for which we went overseas. His appreciation does more honour to the crosses in Flanders fields than that

of those who would make our universities a mould for official rubber stamps."

A stirring sermon in favour of Dr. King's right to criticism was preached by Dr. W. G. Brown of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Saskatoon, and the students of the University strongly declared their support. Though the student paper, *The Sheaf*, had just ceased publication for the year, student officials issued statements in favour of freedom of speech, whether they agreed with the views expressed or no. Among these were the student presidents of Emmanuel College, of the College of Engineering, of the Students' Christian Movement, the Women's Athletic Directorate, and the Men's Athletic Board.

The University authorities took no official notice of the controversy outside of an injudicious statement by President J. S. Thomson to a Travellers' Association wherein he implied that Dr. King was merely a publicity seeker to whom no attention should be paid. Then came examinations, the usual Convocation flurry, the peace of the summer, and the right of professors to make controversial speeches faded into the background.

But in the fall the various organizations in Saskatoon renewed their meetings. On September 19th Dr. King addressed the Kinsmen Club on the subject "Patriotism," and the controversy reopened with vigour. His address in part consisted of a critical analysis of British foreign policy since the early 1930's from a pacifist point of view. The members of the Kinsmen Club, mostly good "solid" business or professional men of the more conservative type, while in all probability disagreeing with many of the sentiments expressed, did not find them seditious or subversive enough to make any public protest, as they have done on occasion in the past.

This time there was no public attack upon Dr. King, and no one suspected that his enemies were still at work until the eve of a meeting of the Saskatoon League for Peace and Democracy, at which Dr. King was scheduled to speak with others on the current international crisis. Like a bombshell to the freedom-loving section of Saskatoon came Dr. King's statement on September 28th to the Secretary of the League:

"I deeply regret that I cannot keep my promise to the League for Peace and Democracy to take part on September 29th in their symposium on the present international situation. Violent epistolary attacks and demands for my dismissal following upon my most recent public address have been so bothersome to President Thomson (who is staunchly attached to academic freedom) that it does not seem expedient for me to speak again in Saskatoon for peace and democracy.

"My critics will not do me the courtesy or the justice of finding out at first hand what I have said: they have preferred to condemn me on the basis of newspaper reports plus prejudice. Actually my criticism of British

foreign and domestic policies and British exploitation of colonial possessions in Asia and Africa has not been more severe than that made in England by eminent and honest men, Lord Olivier and Lord Ponsonby for example. I should be happy to substantiate this in detail to anyone who is interested. Why a professor in Saskatchewan may not repeat what a member of the House of Lords may say in England, is a mystery which those perhaps will explain who are most eloquent in our Province about British freedom of speech."

When this statement was read to a packed hall on September 29th the issue of world peace and international affairs faded into the background before the more immediate issue of democracy at home. The meeting of well over 500 people almost unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the Board of Governors of the University to preserve freedom of speech for members of the faculty.

*The Sheaf* came instantly to Dr. King's defence with a strongly worded front page editorial, and through the medium of the Canadian University Press organization, has had it reprinted in a great many of the student newspapers in Canada.

As a result of this spontaneous indignation President J. S. Thomson of the University felt it incumbent to make some public statement to allay the growing suspicion that strong economic pressure had been put upon Dr. King to silence him. In a letter to the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix the President declared that both last spring and this fall he had received a number of letters from organizations and individuals condemning Dr. King. Dr. Thomson went on to say that as some of these letters were addressed to the Board of Governors the matter was placed before them last spring, but no action was taken. Following Dr. King's latest speech the president said he again received condemnatory letters and,

"After due consideration, and very reluctantly, I felt it my duty to see Mr. King and let him know the unfavourable comment which was being attracted towards the university by the public reports of his address."

Dr. Thomson reiterates again and again that he in no way coerced or attempted to induce Dr. King to refrain from speaking, though he admits that

"I suggested to him that he might be able to attain his objective . . . by modifying his public utterances so that he would not alienate the goodwill of people in whom he was arousing resentment."

To this Dr. King has made no reply. Nor has he addressed any further public meetings. As usual the interests powerful enough to impress President Thomson that Professor King should "modify" his public utterances remain in the background, and dare not work openly. And until the Board of Governors issue a statement guaranteeing Dr. King's right to express his views on world affairs in public without fear of dismissal, suspicion will naturally—and deservedly—fall on them.

# Still No Housing

HUMPHREY CARVER

**T**HERE are some who lie awake at nights contemplating The Day when all the machinery of production and the organisation of industry will be handed over to the people of Canada. It is a pleasant academic anticipation but it slips too easily into a kind of nightmare.

For, if That Day is ever to come to pass, the arts of oratory, propaganda and economic exegesis will have to be enlisted in all their strength and subtlety. We must admit, however, that these arts are accomplishments more easily acquired than the knowledge of technical organisation which will be required on the morning of That Day. For it is not as if one had merely to throw a switch to put a whole industry into democratic gear, to make it function for the benefit of the whole community. The former motive power that was hitched into each section of the production-line (known as the Profit Motive) will have been removed; installation of the new kind of motive power will require every part of the plant to be re-designed.

The story of how one great American industry was first harnessed to a new motive power and made to operate as a public service has been told in "Housing Comes of Age," a fascinating description of a great administrative triumph. \*This analysis of America's first public Housing projects should be studied carefully by all practical-minded politicians; for, if a Canadian Leftist party cannot assemble a technical personnel as enthusiastic and conscientious as is here described, its ambitions are meaningless and its efforts will be fruitless. Is Canada loyal enough to be disloyal to the traditions of graft and political spoil-mongering which seem, at present to belong to this rugged north-country environment? The United States have, in spite of all that picturesque gangsterism, been able to undertake a programme of public Housing only because a loyal personnel was available. We are still wondering whether Canada is capable of such an enterprise.

\* \* \*

The Housing projects constructed by the PWA may be regarded as a Prologue to the great drama which is now unfolding under the direction of the United States Housing Act which came into operation in September 1937. Without that Prologue the rest of the drama could not have been staged. For the 51 projects in 34 cities applied the essential test of technical integrity. They also

established a certain standard of community-planning, they set the pace and they propounded in visible form to the American people the whole thesis of public responsibility for the Housing of low-income families.

When the first appropriation was made for Housing as a part of the Recovery programme in 1934, the cities possessed no kind of organisation that could undertake an operation so entirely new to the American scene. In fact, even if funds had been offered directly to the cities, they would have been unable to accept until empowered to do so by State legislation and until provided with legislation for the establishment of local Housing authorities. This would have involved an intolerable delay while the whole issue of public Housing was fought out (and possibly defeated) in the field of State politics. As the original purpose of Housing under the Recovery Act was to provide emergency employment, such a delay could not be contemplated and the PWA was therefore compelled to set up its own Housing Division and to conduct the programme by central control. Such a procedure met with some opposition from the more highly organised cities such as New York, which already possessed a Housing authority, the appropriate legislation and an enterprising administrator. (For a graphic description of the fight for public Housing in New York see "The Challenge of Housing" by the late Chairman of the New York City Housing Authority)†. The Housing Division was able to delegate varying degrees of responsibility according to the amount of preliminary work that had been done in each city. Cleveland, for instance, had already a well-organised public opinion behind an effective group of local architects and Housing experts; it is only fair to say that that city carried out what are, perhaps, the most successful of all the PWA projects, both in respect of the actual planning of its three developments, and also on account of the fact that all three are also slum-clearance schemes . . . which cannot be said of the majority of the other projects.

In a brief but hectic life of 4 years and 3 months the PWA Housing Division fought out the entire issue of Housing against the combined forces of reaction, real estate and racketeering. It not only won a dialectical and moral victory but it also actually acquired 1,200 acres of urban land, built

\* "Housing Comes of Age": Michael Strauss & Talbot Wegg; Oxford University Press, 1938; \$2.75.

† "The Challenge of Housing" by Langdon W. Post; Farrar & Rinehart, 1938; \$3.50.



21,800 dwellings and placed in them the required number of suitable tenants . . . all without anyone being able to "get anything on" the administration. As a reward for this remarkable achievement (and how remarkable it was can only be appreciated by those who are at all familiar with Housing) the personnel of the Housing Division was adopted almost in its entirety by the new United States Housing Authority of 1937 which is now dispensing funds to properly constituted local Authorities who are to erect 150,000 low-rent dwellings during the next three years.

It is unnecessary to relate that charges of reckless extravagance have been levelled at the PWA Housing Division. For instance its antagonists have laughed at the administration for supplying an electric refrigerator for every dwelling unit. "What an absurd luxury for an ex-slum family!" they say. But they do not add that "By virtue of large-scale buying (the Housing Division purchased in one order, the largest in history, 16,697 electric refrigerators) initial retail cost of these appliances was cut precisely in half. By virtue of wholesale purchase of gas and electricity, the Housing Division was able in many cases to obtain rates so far under the retail domestic rate as to make the operation of lights, and cost of operation of refrigerators less expensive than the cost of operating lights alone under the retail domestic rate."† It is also contended that the construction costs (averaging \$979 per room) were extravagant; in their defence it must be stated that the buildings are designed to stand up to an amortisation period of 60 years and that the buildings whose costs are presented for comparison will have been demolished long before that time. The plausibility of that defence rests, of course, upon the assumption that these projects are so well designed that they will still be regarded as good-standard Housing 60 years hence; time alone can justify the Housing Division.

\* \* \*

The PWA projects have seen the United States through the chrysalis stage of Housing which, under the U.S. Housing Act is now free to take wing. Canada has, meanwhile, not yet given birth to the essential germ of life out of which Housing can grow. We have been presented with two Housing Acts, neither of which has proved to be of any use . . . a statement that may be strenuously contradicted by those whose conception of the "use" of a Housing Act differs fundamentally from our own.

It is true that the Dominion Housing Act 1935 has aided the construction of about 4,500 dwellings the average cost of which is about \$5,000. It

† "Housing Comes of Age" p. 72.

is true also that the National Housing Act 1938 is principally aimed to convey this service to an Income group who cannot afford to pay so much for the purchase of a home. Real estate interests may acclaim this policy because it promotes the property sales out of which they make a living and because it increases that ever-so-fictitious stability of the population which is supposed to be attached to home-ownership. Less prejudiced and short-sighted observers, however, cannot regard such a policy with equanimity; a small income tied to a mortgage by the National Housing Act is another family half way to relief. The obligation to pay out fixed amounts during months of seasonal unemployment or years of industrial recession eats into the small savings that are required to keep such families solvent; real estate is not a liquid asset and is a dangerous toy for the low-income family. Canada, with its special need for mobility of labour and adjustment to seasonal industries, and with its so delicately balanced economy, is probably the one country in the world above all others that should deliberately avoid the very policy that is being promoted by the Housing Acts.

It is in Part II of the National Housing Act 1938 that we are intended to look for the germ of Housing. Here we find proposals made to two kinds of Housing agency. The first is the Limited Dividend Corporation which is offered a loan of 80% of the cost of a project subject to certain conditions, one of which is a fixed tax assessment that is not to fluctuate with the mill-rate (at the time of writing it appears that provincial legislation would be required to enable a municipality to observe this condition.) On account of the low rate of interest (1¾%) and an amortisation period of 35 years it appears that under this provision it might be possible to house that income-group which is able to pay as little as \$30 a month for rent and heat . . . that is, families whose monthly income is about \$150. If such a Limited Dividend Corporation could be made to function there is no doubt that such a class of Housing would be very desirable; but it must be realised that it would in no way relieve what is known as the "problem" of Housing. The average industrial wage in Ontario is \$87 a month out of which the average family cannot pay more than \$21.68 for rent and heat (25% of their income.) It is evident, therefore, that in its offer to Limited Dividend Corporations the Housing Act is only concerned with the aristocracy of labour. (Compare the rents established for the PWA projects which provide a 3-room dwelling for \$20.85 including light, heat, hot-water and refrigeration, these rentals being based scientifically on the incomes of that type of family which, though in steady



employment, is unable to obtain decent accommodation. This corresponds closely with the rent-level that we must achieve in Canada to house the average urban worker.)

The second type of agency to which Part II of the National Housing Act is addressed is the municipality itself, which is offered a 90% loan. At present no municipality has exhibited any inclination to promote Housing and, even if it wished to do so, it would have first to obtain Provincial legislation to authorise such a municipal undertaking and to authorise the establishment of local Housing Authorities competent to administer the work. A fundamental objection, however, to a municipality acting under the present terms of the Act rests in the inevitable conflict that would arise as long as only those families could be served who are still considered to be the legitimate customers of private enterprise. It would be altogether suicidal for public Housing to commence its activities in a field that would immediately, and with some justification, be disputed by all the energies and resource of private interests. No, it is essential that public Housing should present itself exclusively for the benefit of those who cannot otherwise be housed in decency . . . in other words for an income group that cannot be housed without a subsidy.

\* \* \*

In order that Housing should come into action in Canada three essential changes must be effected in the Housing Acts:

(1). The principle of the subsidy must be incorporated. Preferably this should be in the form of annual contributions, made by the Dominion Housing Authority to local Housing Authorities, of a sufficient amount to make up the difference between what low-income families can actually pay for rent and what is actually required to pay interest, amortisation and maintenance of projects. The subsidy may be flexible, depending upon income levels; it would then be to the advantage of the government to raise the level of wages and thereby reduce the amount of subsidies required to equate rents with cost of Housing operation, thus anticipating the possibility that, ultimately, Housing may become an economic enterprise.

(2). The Administration of Housing Acts should be removed from the Department of Finance. It cannot be expected that a Minister whose terms of reference compel him jealously to guard the national balance sheet could successfully stimulate a social and industrial service which must inevitably contradict his efforts.

(3). A central Dominion Housing Authority must be created to stimulate action by guiding the Provinces in provision of enabling legislation

for local Housing Authorities and by providing those Authorities with the technical information that they will need. Without such a co-ordinating body it is impossible to conceive of Housing ever attaining any measure of achievement.

\* \* \*

But is the perfection of the legal instrument of Housing enough? Are we to expect that in Canada we will be able to dispense with the chrysalis stage through which American Housing had to pass? There is no doubt that opinion in Canada is very much less effectively organised than it was in the U.S. in 1934 and we certainly do not possess the technical personnel that was assembled into the PWA Housing Division. Housing in the U.S. could not possibly have reached its present stage of realistic activity had it not been for the four years of concentrated and tireless activity undertaken by the PWA, fighting with all the prestige of Washington at its command and with men of national calibre ready, at a moment's notice, to hurry to the scene of a dispute. What confusion would have ensued if all the initial treacherous and ticklish details had had to be handled by the municipalities unaided! What a morass of political mud would have been stirred up! Are Canadian municipalities to go through this alone or will the Dominion government take its courage in its hands and go along with them? We need more than legislation if there is to be Housing in Canada. We need unprecedented loyalty and vigour in Ottawa.

### Three Ostriches

Three wise Ostriches conferred  
About the single unemployed;  
The first, a Municipal bird,  
Compelled by office to avoid  
Commitments for the City Hall  
Thought nothing could be done at all.

The second, of Provincial breed,  
Skilled in the talents of his kind,  
While fully realising the need  
That "Unemployment" be defined,  
Could not with honesty intrude  
On tasks of Federal magnitude.

The Federal bird, more qualified  
In Government and Constitution  
Regretted from the legal side  
There was no Federal solution,  
Which proved to each sagacious boid  
There were no single unemployed.

Each bent his scaly neck around  
And stuck his fool head in the ground.

—DAVID STEVENSON.

# Denmark's New Constitution

REGINALD SPINK

**T**HE introduction in the Danish parliament of a proposed new constitution marks the close of a struggle that has dominated the political scene in Denmark for close on ten years. From its formation in 1929 the Social Democratic-Radical ministry of Thorvald Stauning has had to contend with a conservative Senate whose majority a complicated and antiquated electoral law made it difficult to dislodge. Much energy and attention has been diverted from fundamental economic matters and considerable bitterness let loose in the process. The appointment of a royal commission to consider the question of an amended constitution came as the natural consequence of last year's Senate elections, which at last gave the Government the required majority. The commission completed its work at the end of June; the recommendations contained in its report form the basis of the present Bill.

The proposals represented a compromise arrived at with the Conservative party, for the collaboration of at least one of the Opposition parties is necessary to ensure the safe passage of any constitutional amendment. Moreover, it was felt that on such a vital issue as wide agreement as possible should be sought. But, though it does not meet all the Government's demands, the new Bill achieves the principal objective, which was the abolition of the privileged Senate and the introduction of a single legislative body elected by direct vote on a democratic basis.

As at present constituted the Danish parliament consists of a Lower House (Folketing) elected directly on the basis of adult male and female suffrage, the minimum age of electors being 25, and a Senate (Landsting). While the Folketing is elected for 4 years, the Landsting members sit for 8-year terms. Landsting elections are indirect and are held every 4 years in one half of the country only. The voting age is 35. A further brake on progress is the provision whereby a number of new members are nominated by the outgoing chamber.

So long as there were conservative majorities in both chambers this system worked admirably. But, when a left coalition gained control of the Lower House, friction began. Government measures were consistently whittled down, or simply blocked by the Landsting. Twice, when this obstruction became particularly vicious, the Government was forced to appeal to the country. On both occasions it was returned with an increased

majority in the Folketing. The demise of the Landsting was only a matter of time.

The Government's original proposals included the replacement of the Landsting by a purely advisory body of experts—legal, technical and administrative—without legislative powers. The voting age was to be reduced from 25 to 21. In the final Bill neither of these demands is met. The minimum voting age has been fixed at 23, while other provisions are made for the inclusion of experts in the new parliament.

Many young socialists are disappointed that the party's time-honored demand for the vote at twenty-one has not been realised, but, as already pointed out, the necessity of reaching an agreement with the Opposition is behind the present compromise. The Conservative argument was that in a community based on the family there is much to be said for a voting age of 25, since that is the age at which most persons attain to their own home and consequently greater responsibility. A typical Scandinavian compromise was reached by splitting the difference. The present amendment brings the Danish voting age into alignment with that in Norway and Sweden.

Instead of the straightforward single-chamber originally proposed there is to be a modified system which at first sight seems somewhat complicated. Parliament—to be known as the Rigsdag as at present—will consist of 205 members. Only 170 of these will be elected by direct election, whilst 34 members will be nominated for supplementary seats by the various parties on the basis of their voting strength at the election. These 34 members must not have been candidates at the election itself, but will be nominated in order of precedence from separate lists prepared and published by the parties prior to the election. A member nominated by the local government of the Faroe Islands brings the total up to 205.

On the face of it, since the parties will still be represented democratically according to voting strength at the election, this roundabout method of nominating supplementary members would appear superfluous. Actually it is an attempt to secure the inclusion of a number of specialists, which was the idea underlying the Government's proposal for an advisory chamber. It is recognized that even where elections are based on proportional representation and on lists drawn up in conjunction with party headquarters accidents will sometimes happen. Capable men who should sit in parliament may miss election for some

local and unimportant personal reason. Nor can luck be entirely eliminated from the whirligig of elections. The proposed supplementary lists will afford an opportunity of correcting any such errors and ensuring the presence of personalities whose absence would be a definite loss to parliament. The advisory body favored by the Social Democrats had the advantage of simplicity, but no agreement could be reached on the point.

To allow fuller opportunity for discussion and criticism before any measure can become law, one other important modification of the single-chamber idea was adopted. And it introduces yet another complication. Immediately after the election the Rigsdag will divide itself, the 170 elected members choosing 34 of their number to form, together with the 35 nominated members, what will be known as the Rigsting. The remaining 136 members will make up the Folketing.

It may be argued that this division of parliament into two sections is a denial of the single-chamber concept. But, though it means that all general bills must be given two series of readings, one in each section, the central idea of one democratically-elected legislative body is not violated, since obviously both sections of the new parliament will derive from one election and from one and the same electoral group. The amended constitution, whilst abolishing the privileges of a second chamber and the tug-of-war which these privileges must inevitably entail, retains the opportunity usually provided by such a chamber for fuller discussion of projected measures than can be obtained in one chamber alone. Thus it may be said that the present proposal contains the advantages of both systems. Incidentally the procedure bears a very close resemblance to that adopted in the Norwegian parliament, while Sweden has a second chamber which includes a number of members nominated on a proportional basis by municipalities and county councils.

A bill may be introduced in either of the two sections; it must be given three readings in the first section, two in the second. Financial measures and matters affecting the constitution and procedure will be dealt with by the two sections jointly and thus will receive only three readings. The government may introduce emergency measures in the joint assembly, and also communicate important announcements. Any matter on which the two sections have failed to reach agreement will likewise be settled by joint session, in which case one final reading only will be necessary.

The present constitution will be liberalized in one other important respect. The Social-Democrats have always maintained that facilities should be afforded for testing the feeling of the electors on any bill of more than usual impor-

tance. Provisions for the taking of referenda in such cases have now been accepted by the Conservatives and incorporated in the new Bill.

After the final adoption of a bill by parliament two-fifths of the members may, in a joint session to be held not later than 3 weekdays after its passage, require that the act shall be tested by a referendum, such referendum to take place between 8 and 12 days thereafter. A referendum will also be held when at least one-third of the members require it, providing they obtain the support of 15 per cent. of the electorate within a space of time commencing 6 days after the announcement of their demand and not exceeding the following 6 days. In this case the referendum must be commenced between 8 and 12 days subsequent to the announcement of the electors' petition. The referendum will be simply—for or against the new law. The act is annulled when a majority of the voters, representing not less than 35 per cent. of the total electorate, are opposed to it. No referendum can be taken on bills relating to financial matters.

The existing constitution requires that, before any amendment can become law, it must receive the full endorsement of the electorate. After the passage of the new bill by Folketing and Landsting, both chambers must be dissolved. The bill will then be re-introduced and given its full series of readings in both chambers. Within six months of this second passage it must be referred to the Folketing electors, 45 per cent. of whom must endorse the amendment. This procedure illustrates the need for full understanding with the Opposition. The whole routine is retained in the new constitution, except of course that there will be no Landsting elections.

One other amendment deserves mention. The new constitution, like its predecessor, guarantees the free right of association for all lawful purposes. A paragraph has now been inserted which makes it possible for the government to seek court judgment for the suppression of any association whose object is to overthrow the constitution or deprive the citizens, or any section of them, of the democratic rights accorded them by it. Associations which seek to achieve their objects by violence or incitement to violence or by similar unlawful attempts to influence the free formation of opinion are included in this category. It is expressly stated that no association may be banned by government order. An association may be temporarily forbidden, but in such case proceedings must immediately be initiated in the courts.

Three principles emerge from this brief review of the outstanding amendments. In the first place the elected government is to have the right to



government. The abolition of undemocratic impediments to strong government removes one of the principal grounds for argument against parliamentary democracy—that it is incompetent and ineffective. The introduction of referenda and the other democratic safeguards mentioned above prevent the abuse of strong government. Finally, whilst every opportunity is afforded for democratic political activity, there is recognition of the need for democracy to defend itself against attack. The new Danish constitution will be one of the freest in Europe. The only right which it denies to all citizens is the freedom to destroy freedom.

## Fritz Brandtner

HELEN KEMP FRYE

**F**RITZ Brandtner was in Toronto for a weekend lately during his exhibition at the Picture Loan Society, and gave us the choice of his whole exhibition for reproduction in The Forum. Unfortunately, we had to remember what would reproduce best, and had to pass over some of his brilliant oils and water colours which we would like our readers to have seen. However,



THE OTHER SIDE OF LIFE

—Fritz Brandtner

one important aspect of his work is shown in "Fletcher Field, Montreal" with its vigorous design and subtle gradations of tone.

Mr. Brandtner, born in Danzig, was first a student and then an assistant of Professor F. A. Pfuhle in the University of Danzig. There he studied painting, life drawing and techniques of the old masters. In 1928 he came to Canada, and settled in Winnipeg where he worked as a house-painter and at various kinds of commercial art. He went to Montreal four years ago and ever since has been painting, free-lancing as a commercial artist, conducting his own classes for children and producing some of the most vital work of any of the younger Canadian painters.

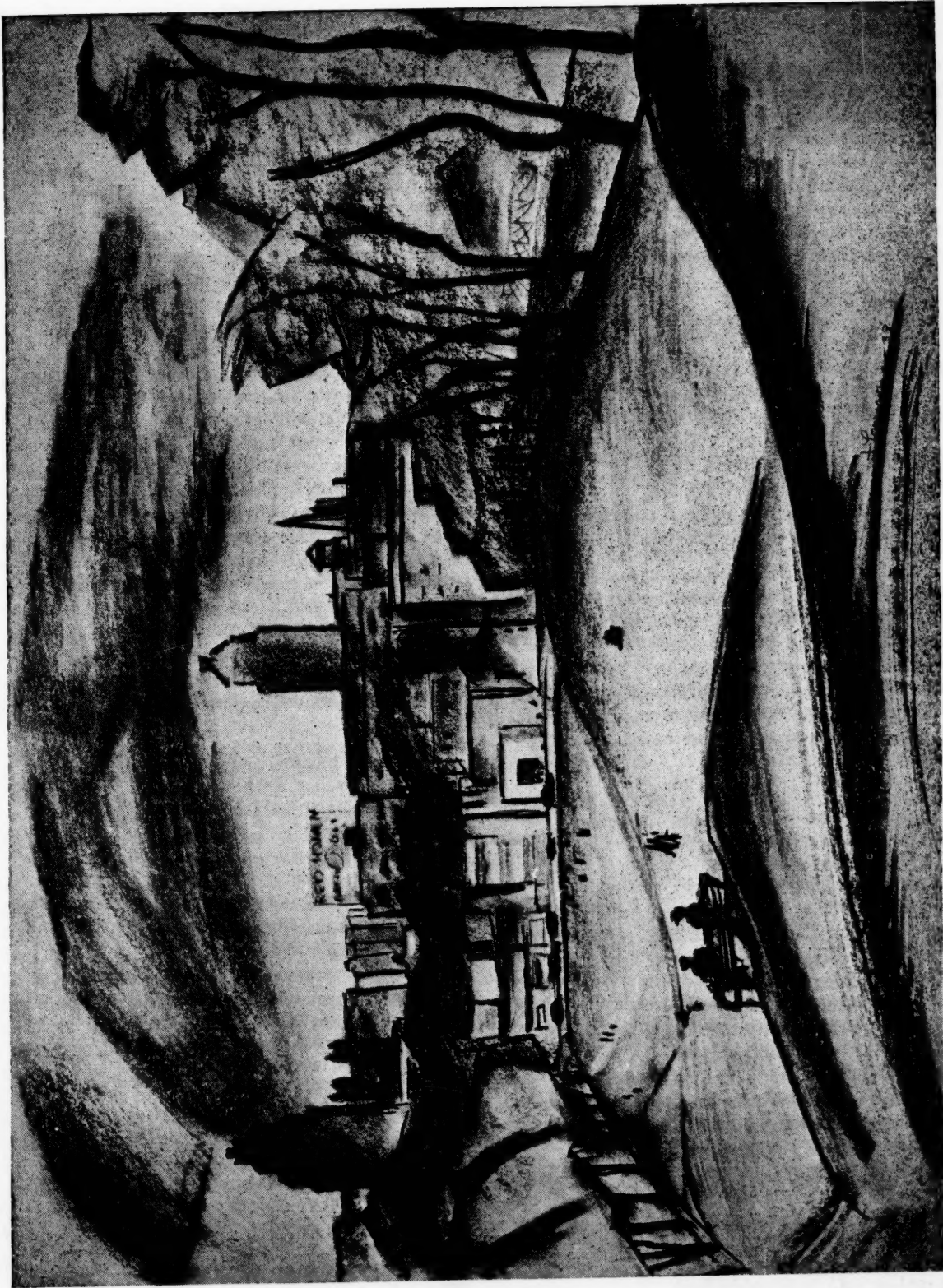
His classes for children in Montreal are recruited from neighborhood houses and community centres and they meet after school hours to draw and paint, as a healthy form of recreation and development. Lately he has been working in a hospital teaching children with incurable diseases, for doctors find that this form of creative activity makes them happy and cheerful.

Mr. Brandtner is a tireless experimenter, always trying out new techniques. He frequently works in copper and wood. On his first piece of wood-carving he tried to carve figures of people harvesting, but he did not know how to set about it, and the only tool he had was a screw-driver. Nothing daunted, he carved the whole group with the screw-driver!

He has painted in Canada from British Columbia to the Laurentians, from Vancouver and Hazelton and the Indian totems of the Skeena River to the country around Murray Bay, Quebec. He has recorded the streets and buildings of Montreal with its factories and the ships along the water-front. Among the inhabitants of the modern city he sees the clash of social conflicts and the threat of monstrous warfare, and does not flinch from portraying them. He feels that an artist should be universal in his outlook and should not limit his activity to flowers or the figure or to landscape alone. Otherwise he becomes merely a good craftsman.

He tells with amusement of his first exhibition in Winnipeg in 1928 when he was announced by critics as ultra-modern along with Matisse and Picasso. In spite of his academic training he never changed his own way of painting to any great extent. There are some critics who say he should not waste his talent painting the way he does, but he feels that imitation of old masters is not enough—at least not enough for him. He must express what he has to say about the world he sees in his own simple way. Each new painting is an adventure, for art to him is not a question of rules of composition, it is a way of living.





FLETCHER FIELD

(By Courtesy of the Picture Loan Society)

—Fritz Brandtner

# The Submarine

E. J. PRATT

The young lieutenant in command  
Of the famous submarine, the K-  
148, had scanned  
The sea circumference all day:  
A thousand times or so his hand  
Revolved the prism in the hope  
That the image of the ship expected,  
But overdue, might be reflected  
Through the lenses of his periscope.  
'Twas getting late, and not a mark  
Had troubled the monotony  
Of every slow expanding arc  
Of the horizon. Suddenly  
His grip froze to the handle! What  
Was that amorphous yellow spot  
To the north-east? Was it the lift  
Of a wave, a curl of foam, a drift  
Of cloud? Too slow for foam, too fast  
For cloud. A minute more. At last  
The drift was taking shape; his stroke  
Of luck had fallen—it was SMOKE!

An hour of light in the western sky,  
And thirty seconds for descent;  
The quarry ten miles off. Stand-by!  
The valves were opened—flood and vent—  
And the water like a rumble of thunder  
Entered the tanks. Two generators  
Sparked her fins and drove her under  
Down the ocean escalators.

No forbear of the whale or shark,  
No saurian of the Pleiocene,  
Piercing the sub-aquatic dark  
Could rival this new submarine.  
The evolution of the sea  
Had brought forth many specimens  
Conceived in horror—denizens  
Whose vast inside economy  
Not only reproduced their broods,  
But having shot them from their wombs,  
Devoured them in their family feuds  
And passed them through their catacombs.  
But was there one in all their race  
Combined such terror with such grace,  
As this disturber of the glooms,  
This rapid sinuous oval form  
Which knew unerringly the way  
To sound and circumvent a storm  
Or steal a march upon her prey?  
No product she of Nature's dower,  
No casual selection wrought her

Or gave her such mechanic power  
To breathe above or under water.

In her thoracic cavities  
One hundred tons of batteries  
Were ready, on the dive, to start  
The musculation of the heart.  
And where outside a Ming museum  
Could any antiquarian find  
An assemblage such as here was shrined  
Within the vault of her peritoneum?  
Electric switches, indicators,  
Diving alarm-horns, oscillators,  
Rudder controls, and tubes and dials,  
Yellow, white, magenta vials,  
Pipes to force out battery gases,  
Pressure gauges, polished brasses,  
Surrounded human figures caught  
At their positions, silent, taut,  
Like statues in the tungsten light,  
While just outside the cell was night  
And a distant engine's monotone  
Tapping at a telephone.  
And now two hundred feet below  
She held her bearings towards her foe,  
While silence and the darkness flowed  
Along an unnavigated road.

In half-an-hour she stopped and blew  
The water ballast with her air,  
Rose stealthily to surface where  
Upon the mirror in full view,  
Cutting an Atlantic swarth  
The trail of smoke turned out to be  
A fat mammalian of the sea,  
Set on a course north-east by north,  
And heavy with maternity.  
Within her frame-work iron-walled  
A thousand bodies were installed,  
A snug and pre-lacteal brood  
Drawing from her warmth and food,  
Awaiting in two days or three  
A European delivery.  
Blood of tiger, blood of shark,  
What a prey to stalk and strike  
From an ambush in the dark  
Thicket of the sea!

Now like  
The tiger-shark viviparous  
Who with her young grown mutinous

Before the birth-hour with the smell  
 Of blood inside the mother, will expel  
 Them from her body to begin  
 At once the steerage of the fin,  
 The seizure of the jaw, the click  
 Of serried teeth fashioned so well  
 Pre-natally to turn the trick  
 Upon a shoal of mackerel—  
 So like the shark, the submarine  
 Ejected from her magazine  
 The first one of her foetal young.  
 It ran along the trolley, swung  
 Into a flooded tube and there  
 Under a jet of compressed air  
 It found the sea. A trip-latch in  
 The tube a second later sprung  
 A trigger, and the turbine power  
 Acting on the driving fin  
 Paced it at fifty miles per hour.

So huge and luscious was this feast,  
 The 148 released  
 Three others to offset the chance  
 Of some erratic circumstance  
 Of aim or speed or tide or weather.  
 And during this time nothing was seen  
 Except to an eye in the submarine  
 Of that bevy of sharks on the sea together,  
 So accurately spaced one after the other,  
 And driven by thirst derived from the mother.  
 Each seemed on the glass a tenuous feather  
 Of gold such as a curlew in flight  
 Would make with its nether wing skimming the  
 swell;

Not a hint of a swerve to the left or right,  
 The gyros were holding the balance so well.

The rich-ripe mammal was swimming straight  
 On the course of her chart with unconcerned  
 leisure,

Her steady keel and uniform rate  
 Combining so perfectly with the deep black  
 Of the hull-silhouette against the back-  
 Drop of the sunset to etch and measure  
 The target—when three of those shafts of foam  
 At the end of their amber stretch struck home.  
 The first one barely missed—to plough  
 A harmless path across her bow:  
 The next tore like a scimitar  
 Through flesh to rip the jugular;  
 Boilers and bulkheads broke apart  
 When the third torpedo struck the heart;  
 And with what logic did the fourth  
 Cancel the course north-east by north,  
 Hitting abaft the beam to rut  
 The exploding nitrates through her gut.

The young commander's time was short  
 To log the items for report.

Upon the mirror he descried  
 Three cavernous wounds in the mammal's side—  
 Three crumbled dykes through which the tide  
 Of a gluttonous Atlantic poured;  
 A heavy starboard list with banks  
 Of smoke fluted with steam which soared  
 From a scramble of pipes within her flanks;  
 Twin funnel-nostrils belching red,  
 A tilting stern, a plunging head,  
 The foundering angle in position,  
 And the sea's reach for a thousand souls  
 In the last throes of the parturition.

Now with her hyper-sensitive feel  
 Of her master's hands on the controls—  
 A pull of a switch, a turn of a wheel,  
 The submarine, like the deep-sea shark,  
 Went under cover, away from the light  
 And limn of the sunset, from the sight  
 Of the stars, to a native lair as dark  
 As a kraken's grave. She took her course  
 South-west by south—for what was the source  
 Of that hum to the port picked up by the  
 oscillator?

A rhythm too rapid, too hectic for freighter  
 Or liner! This was her foe, not her prey:  
 Faster and louder, and heading her way!  
 Beyond the depth where the tanks could flood 'er,  
 She drove her nose down with the diving rudder,  
 Far from the storm of shells or thrust  
 Of the ram, away from the gear-wrenching zone  
 Of the depth-bomb, away from the scent and lust  
 Of a killer whose might was as great as her own.

## The Bay Mare's Indian Summer

I watched her, double-harnessed on the farm,  
 Plow fields, haul hay, and pull beside the dolt  
 Team-mated with her; then subdued and calm  
 Bring forth, each year, her spindle-legged colt,  
 Cleanse and caress it with her tender tongue,  
 Watch proudly those first steps in playful prance,  
 Then, bitted, harnessed, taken from her young,  
 Turn back to work. — Always there seemed a  
 dance

That lingered in her step; her coat, too, held  
 Such satin lights — I still rejoice to know  
 She took her freedom when the great tree felled  
 The fence — She travelled far — her eyes yet  
 glow

As though some moment in that escapade  
 Still warmed her heart to keep it unafraid.

—PHYLLIS MARY CLARKE.



# Of A Smoothness

MARY WEEKES

**T**HOUGH Mrs. Herschoitz shifted her feet appreciatively on the glossy linoleum beneath her chair, a great fear was chilling her heart. It was the same fear she had felt when the Hospital Interne with an abrupt, "Johnnie must be X-rayed" had taken him to the Dispensary.

She tried to think that her fear was unreasonable, but sitting now in the long corridor with doctors and nurses moving past her with queer intensity, and no news of Johnnie who had been here for more than two hours, her head felt like a big sponge, so full of little confusions it was. Only the linoleum that was waxed to a smoothness was real to Mrs. Herschoitz.

The Great Doctor who was to examine Johnnie was still busy, so the nurse, who went up and down, up and down, her flat shoes flip-flapping on the hard shiny linoleum, told Mrs. Herschoitz: "Wait till Johnnie comes back from the X-ray," she had said. Then she had gone swiftly away without hearing the words that had stopped halfway in Mrs. Herschoitz's throat. This was more than two hours ago. Patiently, Mrs. Herschoitz moved her feet along the glossy linoleum that was of a smoothness . . .

Each time a nurse passed where she sat, Mrs. Herschoitz thought, "I will ask her if I can see the Great Doctor myself," but each time, as before, the words stopped in her throat. When another nurse came, accompanying a doctor whose long loose coat looked so like a shroud, she was still afraid to venture the question. After all who was she, Mrs. Herschoitz, to take the time of the Big Doctor who was over all the doctors and nurses in this Public Dispensary where thousands of sick people came each day for treatment, and all perhaps as sick as little Johnnie?

Two and a half hours! And Johnnie still away beyond those sliding doors—alone, maybe, in this big strange place where cold white nurses went slip-slapping down the corridor where death moved as if on a moving stairway.

Not ten feet from where she sat, was the Great Doctor's office. If she could get past these nurses who had no heart for suffering, she might ask him very politely—if her voice would come—if she could go to Johnnie who would be so frightened.

"Call for Dr. Jarvis! Call for Dr. Jarvis!" spoke a nurse. Her small white cap bobbed on her fuzzy hair when she walked like a cork on water, and,

as she hurried down the corridor, Mrs. Herschoitz expected to see it fly off. So good for nothing it was.

God! Mrs. Herschoitz's breath was thick and choking in her throat. She came sharply to her feet. "Is it Johnnie?" she whispered, her hand tight on the nurse's arm.

"No! And do please sit down," answered the nurse severely.

Mrs. Herschoitz went heavily back to her place. A tight skirt-band round her middle divided her body in two, giving it a sagging appearance; her round olive face was expressionless, except for the tragedy in her blue eyes.

Around her, nurses and doctors discussed with each other and over the telephone, radiologist, blood test reports, temperatures. This talk, thought Mrs. Herschoitz, was vast foolishness when little Johnnie—and she had to swallow hard to control the pain in her throat.

She would take Johnnie home and keep him warm and quiet in the big feather bed where she had kept all her other children in their sicknesses. Still, there was Isadore Sidel, the butcher, whose head had been cut—his ear off nearly—when Becky, his wife, who had found him kissing Rosie Blomberg, in the back of the shop, had hit him with a cleaver. And here in this place, they had fixed him up good, sewing his ear on again and only a small red scar showing where the terrible wound had been.

She would speak to this nurse who was coming over the glassy linoleum with quick steps that did not flip-flap but seemed charged with lightness. Her dress, instead of being straight and stiff, wrinkled to her figure, and her eyes had kindness in them.

She put out her hand, trembling now, though so strong to wash and iron and scrub for Mrs. Hoffman who paid her so little for her work, but regularly, to touch the girl. But as she did so, a young doctor came up and spoke to her. They moved away together to some charts that hung over a desk and began running their fingers up and down the figures and talking about things which Mrs. Herschoitz did not understand.

Mrs. Herschoitz's thick shoes slipped back and forth on the glistening brown linoleum leaving broad blurs on its clear surface, but she, who was ordinarily so particular about the care of Mrs. Hoffman's floors, polishing them to a mirror finish, did not care about the floors today when Johnnie, the youngest and weakest of her children



(since his influenza) was in this place so full of sickening smells and nobody caring whether he lived or died.

Through the swinging-door at the far end of the corridor, a man was brought, in a wheelchair. Mother of Mercy! What had they done to him that he was such a corpse? Against her shaking hand, through her robust breast, Mrs. Herschoitz could feel the frightened beats of her heart. So, once before, with hand pressed to her breast—when life had gone forever from baby Sophy—had she counted the minutes.

More than a hundred people had come through that end-door of the corridor, that was like a funeral place, in the nearly three hours she had been waiting. The door was opening again. Johnie? No! Only a woman of maybe 200 pounds in a blue kimona hunched to her knees and with frizzy hair (she must have slept in it) that lifted from the fat rolls of her neck with the light draft from the door.

Johnie was not coming . . . Mrs. Herschoitz pressed her feet against the polished linoleum to keep the moving stairway of slip-slapping nurses and doctors from squashing her. Hard against her heavy breast, she struck her hand, to stop her

throbbing heart. Her Johnie must have the tuberculosis. These hard cold nurses had not told her. In a step she was across the hall.

For a moment the Great Doctor looked at the heavy woman with the tragic blue eyes in a round olive face who stood in the doorway holding the arm of the nurse she had pushed aside. Then, he continued, "Johnie, you're sound! Not a thing the matter with you! Put on your things, Johnie, and clear out of this and play!" And there was the Great Doctor holding her Johnie's hand and slapping her Johnie on the back the same as if he had been the rich little Neddy Kinsman who sometimes gave Johnie a lollypop when he went to get the Kinsman washing.

"The Great Doctor," Mrs. Herschoitz told the nurse with feet of lightness who had come up and taken her hand, "he has the heart of understanding and kindness. So good he looks all in white—all of a smoothness, like, like—this linoleum. Ah! I must fix Mrs. Hoffman's floors like this, nice and glossy. Stop scratching your feet on this beautiful polished floor, Johnie! Such a good big licking you must have for this terrible fright . . ." Mrs. Herschoitz burst into tears, "This terrible fright you make me suffer."

## Arms and the Profits

ROBERT F. LEGGET

MANY Canadians, and especially those who are imperially minded, must have been puzzled at the expressed reluctance of the British Government to assist the prosecution of the work of Canada's Royal Commission of enquiry into the Bren gun contract. Initial surprise must have increased in the minds of all who, in the midst of the European "crisis" read in the Canadian Press report of the enquiry that: "The (British) Army Council felt use of the documents might be embarrassing . . . (and that) . . . Consent might be given if the Canadian Government could assure the British Government disclosure would give rise to no comment or criticism of the British contract or the circumstances leading up to it." Documents were eventually produced for the guidance of the enquiry, apparently with no such assurance from the Canadian Government having been given—Canada still being a democracy. At a later date, an even more surprising attitude on the part of British Government officials was disclosed when Sir Harold Brown, in answer to enquiries about Major Hahn from the office of the High Commissioner for Canada in London, expressed resentment at the fact that such enquiries were made.

Embarrassment . . . resentment . . . strange feelings indeed to exist in relation to the normal intercourse of two member nations of the Empire. But they bring to mind a story, a true story, which appears to be practically unknown in Canada. It is one of those things which, although featured prominently in the British press, somehow fail to be mentioned in any of the leading newspapers of the east of Canada. It may therefore be useful to present it in brief summary.

In the delightful East Anglican town of Ipswich, parts of which seem to have remained just as they were when described by Charles Dickens, there are located the great works of Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier Limited, known to civil engineers in all parts of the world as long established builders of cranes, sluice gates, and other unusually heavy engineering equipment. The firm is now headed by Mr. R. R. Stokes, the managing director and a singularly distinguished son of a distinguished father. In the early stages of Great Britain's re-armament programme, and in view of the potentialities of the great works which he managed, Mr. Stokes wrote to the Secretary of State for War (his letter being dated 17th July, 1936) and made this offer: "We are

prepared to carry out such contracts for shells as you may find it desirable to place with us up to a reasonable amount without profit at all to ourselves, assuming full depreciation and oncost charges will be allowed. In other words, we shall work neither at a profit nor at a loss." Mr. Stokes expressed reluctance at having to undertake the manufacture of shells, and this statement was used by Mr. Duff Cooper (then Secretary of State for War) in his reply as the reason for asking Mr. Stokes to return to him the official tender form. In complying with this request, Mr. Stokes asked "whether it was the considered policy of the War Office not to place contracts with firms who refuse to make profits out of munitions." Mr. Duff Cooper, in a further letter, assured Mr. Stokes that this was certainly not the policy of the War Office.

On 28th October, the War Office advised Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier that their tender for the supply of a specific quantity of shells was refused, although they had previously been advised that their price was a very favourable one to the Department. It subsequently developed that this tender of Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier was the lowest of those submitted for the contract then under consideration. At a later date, Mr. Noel Baker said in the House of Commons that their price was 17s. 11d., per shell and that this was 4s. 0d., cheaper than the next lowest bidder; these figures were not disputed. In the early months of the following year, news of this transaction apparently got out of official channels and the matter was discussed in Parliament, and in the public press. Mr. Stokes was still in communication with the Government, and in a letter dated 1st March, 1937, used these words: "I am endeavouring to work up interest in the principle of manufacturing munitions without profit; but I am a little doubtful as to the support which the daily press will give it."

The matter finally reached such a position in public interest that formal questions were asked in Parliament, and finally this answer was given—that the Minister's advisers were of the opinion that the "estimate" put forward by Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier was much too low, and the shells would cost much more than the firm anticipated, and that for this reason they had not been awarded the contract. In addition to the statement to this effect made in the House of Commons by Sir Victor Warrender, there was published also a long letter from Sir Thomas Inskip to Mr. T. Johnston, M.P., outlining the history of the case and the conclusions reached. (This may be found on page 11 of the London Times of 22nd April, 1937, facts herein recited are generally taken from it.) The first part of the letter is

reasonably clear, but the latter part does not evidence the same clarity. It does, however, present this conclusion as a result of the study which had been made of the relevant documents: "... that it was a no-profit no-loss offer ...". And the letter contains this statement: "... there is no foundation whatever for the insinuation—which I gladly recognise you did not make—that the War Office rejected the alleged proposal because they did not want an announcement to be made that a firm proposed to manufacture arms without profit." (Students of philology may study this statement with profit.) To this, and in conclusion, there may be added the following pronouncement of Sir Victor Warrender, made on the floor of the House of Commons: "... but it does not necessarily follow that a tender on a no-profit and no-loss basis is more economical than others."

The public comments on Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier's offer were varied, and of great interest. One feature only can now be mentioned. The position of the shareholders in this great Company was prominently mentioned by those who defended the Government's actions. It is therefore significant to note that at the annual general meeting of Ransomes and Rapier Limited, reported in the press on 10th April, 1937, one shareholder expressed the view that the "... sacrifice to the shareholders is extremely small, when compared with the enormous benefit to all if war can be discountenanced or made ever so little less likely." Thereafter it was unanimously carried "That this meeting of the shareholders endorses the policy adopted by the Board in regard to the manufacture of shells."

In deference to the more recent wishes of the British Army Council, no Canadian comment will be made on this record of fact; it would, indeed, be difficult to make any adequate comment. But presumably comment from a member of the British aristocracy may be repeated, so the following extract from a letter to the Times from Lord Radnor will be used to draw the main part of this story to an end. "... Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier get no contract for munitions of any kind. This may be satisfactory to them because of their expressed dislike of making munitions. But it is of little comfort to the taxpayer, and it is a distinct encouragement to those who look on warlike preparations as a legitimate means of expanding their profits."

There is a sequel. Some months after the events just related it so happened that a Parliamentary by-election took place at Ipswich. Its previous political calibre can best be imagined by turning over the pages of Pickwick Papers again. Despite the apparent safety, however, the National Government put an unusually strong candidate in the

field and provided him with unusually strong support. Re-armament policy was a leading topic of the hustings. But the eventual count of the ballots showed that the Labour candidate had been elected. He was a man without previous political experience, but one who had been requested by the local Trades Union Council to stand as representing the Labour Party. And his name is R. R. Stokes: his position, managing director of one of Ipswich's great industries—Messrs. Ransomes and Rapier Limited.

Mr. Stokes' maiden speech in Westminster dealt, not strangely, with armaments. He pointed out that "the racket, so to speak" does not stop at shell prices, but is related to the price of raw materials, instancing the increase in the price of pig iron—from £2.15.0 per ton in January, 1931, to £5.5.0 per ton in 1938—to illustrate his argument. He spoke also of land, saying that "the statement of facts shows that the Government has paid for 26,500 acres of land £1,255,000; and that was land which was mostly derated because it was considered valueless."

Speaking as "one who fought in the last war, and who may be young enough to take part in the next," Mr. Stokes prefaced his speech with this affirmation: "I stand as one of those who would like to see the abolition of the private manufacture of armaments altogether; and, if that cannot be done, I would like to see the abolition of profit. I do so not for any political wish, but because I sincerely believe that if you take the profits out of armaments you put some obstruction in the way of war."

## O CANADA!

(A prize of \$1.00, or a year's subscription to The Canadian Forum, is given for the cutting printed at the head of this column. Original cuttings, with name and date of paper, should be sent.)

There is no mistaking the crooked trail of communism wherever you follow it, whether in Russia, Mexico, China, Spain, Italy or Germany. It is the same anti-Christ, pressing on through fratricidal bloodshed and the suppression of liberty to dictatorship by a handful of political gangsters. Label them what you will, be they fascists, nazis, or communists, they stem from the same lusts. The mark of Cain is upon their brows. They war against God Almighty and scourge an unbelieving world with its own thongs.

(Editorial in Hamilton Spectator)

Canada's immigration policy "in which we open the doors for people to come from Europe and then allow them to isolate themselves here," was condemned by Brigadier Wallace Bunton of the London corps of the Salvation Army.

"Every man, woman and child coming into this country

should swear allegiance to king and country and not allow themselves to live in isolated colonies," he declared. "If they are not satisfied to live under the Union Jack and all it stands for—freedom of the whole world—then the only thing to do is to load them all into a boat with a false bottom and take them into the middle of the ocean and then it will be all over."

(Report from Guelph in Toronto Star)

### MARRIAGE— AFFORD MARRIAGE, ABILITY TO; ADVANTAGE OF HIGH INCOME

Saskatchewan, Hon. Mr. Davis for: Those in high income brackets can afford to get married "and perhaps could support more than one wife . . ."

(Report of Hearings before Rowell Commission, Regina, Sask., December 13, 1937; p. 1579)

Vigilance committee of Mizpah Lodge No. 40, of the Mizpah Protestant Association, held a meeting, when it was reported that seven parks and playgrounds had been kept under observation and the members were pleased to find that there were not half as many people indulging in sports on the Sabbath Day in all seven parks as there were of Christian ladies and gentlemen listening to sacred music in one park.

(Report in Toronto Telegram)

I lunched with McCullagh at his office. His vitality is enormous and his language pours from him in picturesque unusual phrases that are at times worthy of Lincoln. His vision of the British Empire as an agency for good would shame our tepid Imperialists at home. "Tell your people," he said, "that if England goes to war the Canadians will come to her aid if they have to swim to get there."

(Beverley Baxter on editor of Globe and Mail)

"Commenting on the recent international crisis, Major J. M. Baxter, vice-president A. McKim Limited, spoke appreciatively of the 'calm, level-headed, courageous British' manner in which the newspapers had presented the news."

(Reported in "Marketing")

(The prize this month goes to Mr. D. B. Hemmeon.)



LANE, WINNIPEG

—Fritz Brandtner



# BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## All For Power

POWER: Bertrand Russell; McLeod (W. W. Norton); pp. 315; \$3.50.

MR. Russell begins his book by asserting a rather startling principle, "that the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in Physics. . . . The laws of social dynamics are laws which can only be stated in terms of power." This principle invests his theme with a kind of cosmic significance: it is not love but lust for power which makes our world go round, in the very disorderly jerks which we fondly call progress. Mr. Russell develops this theme with conscientious thoroughness. He shows (it is not a new picture) that in all spheres of activity which have been thought worthy of the historian's notice—whether military or political, or religious or economic—the decisive motive has been the desire for power in one of its many forms, from naked power or the desire to knock people on the head regardless of law or custom, to the subtle power of persuasion, or the desire to force our opinion into the souls of our fellows by any device which the law allows. It is a gloomy but familiar story, gloomiest of all in the political behaviour of religious groups which (with the help of Gibbon) Mr. Russell illustrates very fully. He has some wise things to say about the contemporary abuse of power. Whether or not we agree with his placing of German Fascism and Russian Communism in the same class of tyrannies, we can hardly quarrel with him for asserting that public ownership of the means of production must come dangerously near to tyranny unless it is combined with real and really free democracy—which is terribly hard to come by. Mr. Russell also has some very interesting things to say about the growth and degeneration of power, the relation between the size or compactness of a group and its dominance, the influence of laws and moral codes, and the defects of power-philosophies. But in spite of all this, in spite too of the vital interest of the theme, Mr. Russell's book is disappointing. Perhaps it is unreasonable, but one does expect that a book about the dreadful effects of force shall itself be forceful; and this book is not. It just lacks punch. One feels a little like a traveller who has been conducted through a devastated area by a rather puzzled guide, and at the end one merely feels "Dear me, this is all very sad."

Mr. Russell is even more disappointing in his final remarks upon "the taming of power." He realises that if we are to save Democracy we must cling to the party system with all its faults. He makes some ingenious suggestions: for instance, that the danger of police tyranny can only be averted by having "two police forces and two Scotland Yards, one designed, as at present, to prove guilt, the other to prove innocence." But on the whole his recommendations are extraordinarily weak, and amount to little more than a pious hope that we shall some day find nobler things to desire than power, and a vague plea for educating a kindly population who in their childhood shall be made happy and in their youth shall find the world a friendly place.

This weakness is due to two causes. First, Mr. Russell's great discovery that Power is the fundamental concept in social life is false and misleading, and the attempt to prove it by pointing out that whatever we may desire, we must always desire the power to satisfy the desire, is as puerile

as J. S. Mill's famous attempt to prove that Utility is the only possible end or good. The lust for power may be the sole "energy" at work in all competitive activities, such as politics or business, but all life is not like that. Mr. Russell has learned enough from Plato to know that the real enemy is self-centred desire for limited goods—in other words, pleonexia, or the itch to grab more than the other fellow. But in social and individual life alike our activities and relationships are not all determined by lust for dominance, or the desire to grab; nor is competition the only process by which men live. Of course Mr. Russell admits this. He names four great heroes: Buddha, Jesus, Pythagoras and Galileo. He does not follow up the clue implicit in this selection: else he would have found at once that the cure for all our ills lies in discipline of desire through love and sacrifice and attachment to ends which are unlimited and open to all.

But here Mr. Russell runs into another difficulty. He cannot follow his heroes in their confident search for the true ends or values in life. The most he can say is that there are better emotions than the passion for power. "Some find what they need in music, some in poetry. In some others, astronomy serves the same purpose." But "what is of most value in human life is more analogous to what all the great religious teachers have spoken of." And there he leaves us. That is all the guidance he can give us in the tremendous task of taming Power, overcoming competition by co-operation, subduing hate by love.

—E. J. URWICK.

## Banks and People

HOUSE OF ALL NATIONS: Christina Stead; Musson (Simon & Schuster); pp. 795; \$3.00.

MISS Christina Stead has produced a book which is at the same time an absorbing novel and a contemporary sociological document of the first importance. It is a novel written around the daily lives of the people connected with the activities of a private bank in Paris during the financially troubled times of 1930 and 1931 when the gold standard was in jeopardy and rumours of the shakiness of Kreuger were beginning to be heard in the stock exchanges. The number of characters is so enormous that there is a special list of them, with their occupations, at the end of the book and the list includes not only all the employees of the Banque Mercure, from Jules, the play-boy-financial-wizard who owns it, down to the doorman; but also the assorted collection of clients—French princesses, Argentinian millionaires, retired Chicago gangsters, and English merchants in their dotage—each with his or her attendant collection of satellites—wives, mistresses, tame professors, dope pedlars, lawyers and yesmen. The characters are so powerfully drawn that the list is unnecessary, the reader never has occasion to use it, once he has met even a minor character he does not forget him.

And what a crew they are. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that there is not one really inspiring character in the book (unless it be the doorman). But it is one of the author's major triumphs—not the only one—that although she presents each character with complete and Olympian detachment—with that sort of aseptic demonstration of human activity, its nastiness and futility, that we associate with

the writing of Mr. Somerset Maugham, yet we are never for a moment skeptical or unconvinced. Like Mr. Maugham's characters Miss Stead's people always do and say and think exactly what the reader, on reflection, agrees they must do and say and think in that particular set of circumstances.

This extraordinary consistency of characterisation of a very varied collection of human beings is achieved in a book of nearly nine hundred pages, nine-tenths of which are straight dialogue. The characters reveal themselves out of their own mouths or the mouths of their friends. The few lines of prose which are not dialogue are little more than stage directions. They all talk all the time and talk extremely well, every few pages there is a sentence that shouts to be quoted. Yet despite the endless talking, or maybe because of it, the book holds attention better than many a detective story. The action of the book is really the movements of the market in the background, with their effect upon the money-making schemes of the bank and its clients. And, wound into the money-making schemes—some of them fantastic, some of them masterpieces—are, the petty jealousies, the stabs in the back, the palace intrigues and the minor wirepullings which seem to be the only efficient causes in the workings of international finance. Because Jules, the financial genius, was in a puckish mood one Tuesday afternoon, the great wheat scheme (which properly handled could hardly fail) ends in a comic fiasco and thousands of peasants in Middle Europe continue to starve. Indeed Jules is so often in a puckish or wrecking or a non-cooperative temper in the trying times of 1931 that one wonders how he ever became a lord of finance except by blind luck. The only really intelligent member of the bank staff gives the answer "to become a power in the financial world it is only necessary to guess right twice running." And when you have become a power it is even easier to remain a power, even though your cash box is empty. Jules' brother William gives the formula for that: "The fact that Jules has a bank agitates him, he sends Constant to London because he has a bank. What can Constant do in London that we can't do over the telephone? But no. He has a bank and he has to justify it. Good. The bank has paid for a first-class return ticket to London. It's justified. Now he'll go to sleep again until next time he wants to dream he's an international banker . . . Who would believe we were so cockeyed? No one. Thank God."

Socially conscious reviewers will call this book a damning indictment of the capitalistic system. It is that. But it is something much more unusual, it is a brilliant and outstanding novel.

—C. W. M. HART.

### The Gower Family

GROWTH OF A MAN: Mazo de la Roche; Macmillan; pp. 377; \$2.25.

VERY far from the torrid atmosphere and esoteric happenings of *Jalna*, Miss de la Roche's new book is yet not wholly outside the *Jalna* tradition. The Gower family has an exotic background—Shaw Gower in white linen singing on the dome of the Temple of Peace. The family has, as well, the Whiteoaks pattern—that of an autocratic ancestor surrounded by a large subservient family of several generations. But while old Roger Gower with his great beard and clear blue eyes, his almost casual cruelty and sudden disarming confidences has the authentic Whiteoaks flavour, the members of his family are formed of much heavier clay.

Shaw Manifold is a lonely, neglected and abused child who lives with Jane and Roger Gower, his grandparents, and the

unmarried children of their family of thirteen. He is a bright boy, determined from the day his mother goes away to work, to leave the farm and make a career for himself. He struggles against indifference, almost sadistic cruelty, grinding work and poverty to get the schooling which alone can lead him to a freer and happier life. The book is the story of his conquest of these and other difficulties, including a three-year illness with tuberculosis.

The first third of the book is very successful. Always at her best with children and animals, Miss de la Roche reveals with exquisite and penetrating sympathy the mind of the lonely and tormented boy. There is a deep and intense reality in Shaw's impatience with childhood and dependence, his fierce pushing toward maturity. The relation between Shaw and his mother, Cristabel, is one of the best things in the book. The desperate longing for each other, the fears and jealousies engendered by long absence, the tremulous, over-shadowed delight of their brief hours together.

The cruelty and dreariness of the Gower farm life among silly daughters and stupid sons contrasts sharply with the beauty of the Ontario countryside. The reader sees in winter "the humped white figure of the pump," hears "sharp crunchings on the glittering snow," tastes "spicy, sweet-juiced Northern Spies," "rosy Snow apples with their pure pink-veined flesh and flower-like fragrance."

Shaw's life when he leaves the farm loses the sharpness of reality. There are vivid scenes and exciting incidents such as the misadventure in the woods which leads to his illness. Life in the two sanatoria in the Adirondacks and Quebec is interestingly displayed. But the compelling continuity of life seems absent. Elspeth, the childhood playmate whom Shaw marries, is wholly unreal, and few of the minor characters have any true vitality. Shaw studies forestry and becomes deeply attached to the forest but his love

### Combination Subscription Rates

The Canadian Forum \$2.00 a year  
with the following publications:

1. The New Republic \$5.50 a year  
Both for one year .....\$6.50
2. Common Sense \$2.50 a year  
Both for one year .....\$3.50
3. The New Commonwealth \$2.00 a year  
(Weekly, Ontario and Eastern Canada)  
Both for one year .....\$3.00
4. The People's Weekly \$2.00 a year  
(Alberta)  
Both for one year .....\$3.00
5. The Federationist \$2.00 a year  
(Weekly, British Columbia)  
Both for one year .....\$3.00
6. The Manitoba Commonwealth \$2 a year  
(Outside Winnipeg, \$1.00)  
Both for one year .....\$3.00  
(Outside Winnipeg, \$2.50)

Both NEW and RENEWAL subscriptions accepted.  
Publications may be sent to two different addresses.  
Mail your order to THE CANADIAN FORUM,  
28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada.

of trees would perhaps carry more weight if it showed itself earlier and less abruptly.

The style is not unpleasing and has moments of beauty but it is a rather inflexible instrument. The writing is sometimes almost dogged with a piling up of detail that is more determined than effective.

—MARY QUAYLE INNIS.

### Adventure Stories

DEAD NED: John Masefield; Macmillan; pp. 289; \$2.75.

THIS adventure story, subtitled "The Autobiography of a Corpse," places the Poet Laureate a poor second to Robert Louis Stevenson, with whom, in this particular genre at any rate, comparison cannot be avoided. The setting: England of the 18th century; the characters: sailors and rascals and doctors; the implements of the plot: hidden treasure and the suggestion of a mystery in the tropics to be solved; the manner of telling which is in the first person; and lastly the aura of piracy which enfolds the tale: all these are the purest R.L.S. But such a story in the hands of Stevenson would have had a romantic warmth, coupled with vigorous horror, that Dead Ned in some way lacks. And these two ingredients are essential to a novel whose subject matter is a fast moving adventure in those great days of English Commerce (i.e. the slave trade). Unless of course the treatment is to be sociological and reflective which in Dead Ned it definitely isn't. Possibly Mr. Masefield's handling of his material is too literary; a criticism, however, which certainly doesn't apply to his other novels. Nevertheless there is a calculated simplicity of style which seems to rob his tall story of a great many of its possibilities.

The plot itself is a fine one. A young man, studying to be a doctor, becomes the friend and heir of a retired Admiral whom he had saved from death at the hands of footpads. Through a number of circumstances he has incurred the enmity of a rake with the fine Georgian name of Rackage. When the old Admiral is found murdered and his house ransacked for its hidden gold, contrived evidence points to the hero as the murderer. So the young doctor is tried and sentenced to be hanged. And hanged he is. But he is brought back to life by his friends and flees the country by taking a berth as a doctor on a slaver heading for the Coast Of Dead Ned, the African coast. Here we are promised a second volume to describe the doctor's further adventures. Yes, on reflection it is a very good story and even well told. That this reviewer prefers to be more thoroughly frightened and harrowed and horrified may be just a personal and rather shameful idiosyncrasy.

—ELEANOR GODFREY.

THE DOOMSDAY MEN: J. B. Priestley; Macmillan; pp. 312; \$2.25.

MR. Priestley has taken time out from his serious cogitations to write a thriller, and a thoroughly exciting thriller. The theme is the perennially attractive theme of the small band of fanatics that are plotting against the whole human race, calling upon the resources of a fiendishly perfected science. Against them are ranged a well-chosen band of champions from the ranks of normal human kind. The opening chapters, in which the three chief champions are separately introduced, are models of the deft handling of suspense. The reader's interest is engaged, and his insight challenged, from the very first. There are no false trails, nor artificial complexities, however; the interest lies rather in watching the separate strands of the intrigue come

together, the vague hints gradually given more form and detail until they become first plausible, then unmistakable.

Mr. Priestley is too good a craftsman to let the characters, in an adventure story, run away with the action. They are clearly and firmly drawn, in outline rather than in depth. They have all the reality that is necessary for such a tale, and variety and individuality enough to stand out sharply, each by himself, more like the memorable creations of Rider Haggard in this line than the deliberately amorphous actors of H. G. Wells. The scene moves from the Riviera to England, Los Angeles, and the Arizona desert, and the incidental sketches of men and manners have the rapid liveliness that readers of Priestley have a right to expect. And as a crowning triumph of technique, Mr. Priestley has shown that he is one of the very few English authors who can handle ordinary normal American conversation with comprehension and conviction.

—L. A. M.

### General Practitioner

DR. BRADLEY REMEMBERS: Francis Brett Young; Ryerson (Heinemann); pp. 745; \$2.50.

ON opening this book one might be forgiven a slightly weary sigh at the prospect of another double-barrelled biographical novel of a modern medical man. The Citadel by Cronin seemed to be about as thorough an airing as the skeletons in the doctors' cupboards needed for some time. Fortunately such a premonition is without foundation. Dr. Bradley Remembers is a good, unexciting account of a G.P. whose life spans the latter half of the nineteenth and these years of the present century. He began his practice when surgery was still distinct from the use of antiseptics; he saw and employed the gradual accumulation of scientific knowledge since those days. Two mile-posts in medicine are dealt with exhaustively; the controversy around Lister and the Medical Insurance Act of 1913. These are excellently handled, indeed the best parts of the book, and bring to mind that Brett Young is himself a doctor.

The character of Dr. Bradley is well drawn and one may suppose that it was the author's intention to show him as a composite portrait of those kindly, hard-working, often intellectually lazy men who look after the bulk of our frailties. Still, to the reader, Dr. Bradley seems to have more than his share of woes; he loses most of his family and all his money and his practice is frequently precarious. Wisely for the construction of the novel, the emphasis is laid on the latter circumstances. And this is justifiable when it is realized that the majority of a general practitioner's patients are drawn from those classes that are all but dispossessed. The rest of the persons on whom the story hinges are soundly drawn and fill their roles plausibly. Brett Young is either indifferent to or incapable of writing with individuality. Words from him seem merely a vehicle for his ideas and emotions. For this reason Dr. Bradley Remembers has neither the depth nor the impact that its theme warrants.

—ELEANOR GODFREY.

THE FERRAR PAPERS: edited by B. Blackstone; Macmillan (Cambridge University Press); pp. 323; \$7.00.

IN editing a selection from the extensive manuscript material connected with Nicholas Ferrar, Dr. Blackstone has made an important addition to our knowledge of that interesting and somewhat pathetic group of seventeenth-century



Anglicans who could find little satisfaction for their spiritual aspirations in a world increasingly dominated by the frugidity of Puritanism and who turned from the confusion of their times to seek in contemplative solitude something of the peace which passeth all understanding.

In the midst of the chaotic uncertainty which followed the rapid material and intellectual expansion of the Renaissance, the Puritan sought a solution in the activity of reform and revolution. But to men of such diverse personalities and tastes as the poet George Herbert of Bemerton, the Platonist Henry More of Cambridge, the mystical-physician Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, such forceful activity seemed only to make confusion worse confounded. The experiment of the Ferrar family in a kind of domesticated monasticism served as an inspiration to men such as these.

The London plague of 1625 drove the Ferrars to establish themselves at Little Gidding, a small village in Huntingdonshire. Under the direction of Nicholas Ferrar, the household of some thirty persons submitted itself to a strict religious discipline for "the bettering of ourselves by the knowledge of truth and practice of virtue." Dr. Blackstone's selections—a life of Nicholas compounded from several manuscripts, a dialogue on the contemplation of death, a series of brief stories for the instruction of children, and a group of family letters—are designed to give as complete a picture of their life as possible.

It was a life of singularly detached calm, disturbed only by the very human refusal of a spirited daughter-in-law to submit herself to their regulated discipline. But it was not a life of unrelieved austerity. In addition to their devotions they engaged in activities of a kind very necessary and very much neglected in seventeenth-century England. They maintained an alms-house, kept a store of medicines for the poor, and instructed both their own children and those of neighbouring parishes in languages, history and music. Nicholas was a learned and a travelled man whose asceticism was tempered by culture and experience.

The Ferrar Papers will appeal chiefly to the student of the seventeenth-century; but they can be recommended to the attention of less specialized readers. Ferrar's example will today hardly prove "a pattern in an age that needs patterns." Few of us would be disposed to imitate what can variously be described as renunciation or flight. But it is refreshing to turn from the confusion of a world no less troubled than his own to contemplate the certainty won by him and his family through self-discipline, and to be assured by his serene pages that "some supply of consolation in this vale of misery" can be achieved even in a tempestuous age.

—ARTHUR BARKER.

### Good Copy

WESTMINSTER WATCHTOWER: Beverley Baxter; Collins; pp. 319; \$3.00.

**A**MONG all the energetic Canadians that constitute one of Canada's chief exports to the United Kingdom, it is probably safe to say that there is no name better known at home than that of Mr. Beverley Baxter, M.P. Indeed, his name was mentioned at one time as a possible successor to Mr. R. B. Bennett. Others have felt that translation to the peerage would be a more satisfactory recognition of his labours, too.

The book "Westminster Watchtower" is a collection of articles on political subjects written in the last couple of years for various Canadian and English publications. They form a winningly intimate and confidential account of British domestic and foreign policy as seen by a member of

Parliament with an emphatic sense of the privilege and responsibility of his position, and a generous readiness to put the best possible construction on the actions of whatever men at any given time are or are likely to be in effective control of policy. Mr. Baxter modestly disclaims any intention of rendering final historic judgment on the actions and personalities of a parliament which he justly recognises as having provided more "good copy," more sensational front-page headlines, than any Parliament in a long time; he is content to set down, with due reservations, the immediate impressions made by these actions and personalities, to mirror as closely as possible the opinion that he considers himself to represent.

It is good journalism. Mr. Baxter has an eye for the telling detail, the dramatic moment, and a style that is an effective combination of the confidential, the judiciously reflective, and the authoritative. He has mastered the useful art of instilling mild apprehension, then lulling it by studiously restrained reassurance. The book is a considerable testimony to his political sagacity. Seldom indeed has he missed the boat. Once he did, and this once, his visit to Czecho-Slovakia at the time of the first crisis, provides the most interesting and one of the most illuminating chapters in the book.

—L. A. MACKAY.

### The Chamberlain Touch

OUTLANDERS: A Study of Imperial Expansion in South Africa 1877-1902: C. E. Vulliamy; Nelson; pp. 380; \$3.75.

**T**HE British Empire is now on the retreat everywhere in the world. Hitherto it has avoided sacrificing anything but its friends to rival imperial systems; but the Japanese

## CZECHS AND GERMANS

BY ELIZABETH WISKEMANN

"Whoever controls Bohemia controls Europe," said Bismarck. This book remains the definitive book on Czech-German relations . . . the most profound study yet of the question which, in spite of Munich, still remains among the most vital and potentially dangerous of European problems.

\$3.00

## RISE OF ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP — 1898-1906

BY LIONEL M. GELBER

Deals with the momentous change in Anglo-American relations which took place at the turn of the century . . . a change which is at the root of the most important of Canada's foreign problems . . . an Anglo-American front.

\$4.50

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

480 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario

are expelling it from China, and no doubt the day approaches when Hitler will demand concessions from it in Africa. This being so, Mr. Vulliamy's book comes at an opportune time. For he tells the story of the last great advance but one of the Empire in Africa, the conquest of the South African republics. (The last advance was of course the acquisition of the German colonies at the end of the Great War.) His book begins with Carnarvon's maladroit project of compulsory federation in the 1870's and ends with the somewhat dubious achievement of the Big Idea at Vereeniging. There is no doubt as to Mr. Vulliamy's own point of view. Sir William Butler is almost the only Englishman who emerges from his pages with reputation unsullied. Milner "had received from Oxford her peculiar gift of dry and impervious arrogance." Chamberlain's whole policy is presented as deliberately aggressive and provocative. The cynicism and vulgarity of Rhodes overshadows his reported magnetic qualities. And the lesser fry amongst the agents of imperialism consist mostly of intriguing politicians and financiers, incompetent army officers and soldiers who couldn't shoot. "A wholly mistaken idea of competence in military matters was a failing particularly common in South Africa on the part of those who had led white men with machine guns against negroes." On the whole Mr. Vulliamy has a familiar story to tell, though he has collected some new items of information from interviews with men who played a part in the events which he records. Since we are all now interested in the technique of mass murder his accounts of particular battles like Majuba and Spion Kop may be highly recommended. In general I should say that his verdict on the course of British imperialism in this period is that which is accepted by most recent historians, in spite of Mr. Garvin's strenuous apologia for Chamberlain. The book should be read widely in Canada. For the Boer War was the first occasion on which we accepted the invitation to take part in a crusade to make the world safe for the British Empire. We have since joined in a second crusade and a third one approaches. So we should be interested in finding out what we fought for in the first one.

—FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

## P. R.

THE CASE FOR ELECTORAL REFORM: S. R. Daniels; Nelson (Allen and Unwin); pp. 128; \$1.00.

**T**HERE are two methods of presenting a problem, to give the arguments for and against, weigh them and tell your public how you came to form your opinion; or to discuss the problem from a fixed point of view and allow the whole argument, including the arguments you oppose, to be coloured with it. Mr. Daniels, a barrister and former Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Allahabad, has chosen the second method. He starts his book with the fixed idea that Proportional Representation is the only possible truly democratic electoral system and he never swerves from that attitude.

His argument is convincing enough to show the defects of the present electoral system, but not convincing enough to show that P.R. does away with all these and does not exhibit other and new defects. Further, the author has not convinced me, as a practising socialist, that P.R. would not assist in stabilizing the present system, and that capitalism might not find it very strategic to institute P.R. when the socialist party began to get too strong. This suspicion is increased by the quotation here given from J. L. Garvin of *The Observer*, warning "his Conservative friends that the most requisite of all reforms was a reform of the electoral system which would prevent disastrous legislation being car-

ried by a government representing only a minority of the people" and the opinion expressed in the foreword by Lord Hugh Cecil that "there is always danger that a great majority, chosen by an electoral landslide, may fall into the hands of extremists and insist upon changes which are in truth not the least desired by the majority of the electorate." This makes me wonder whether their advocacy of P.R. is not, in part at least, a reflection of their fear that the Labour Party might obtain a majority of the seats in the British House of Commons at the next election and introduce really socialist measures. It is obvious too that the author is not thinking of the effect of his argument on countries like Canada when he states that "certain areas, e.g. the Highlands of Scotland, may have to be left as single-member constituencies" because P.R. "is difficult to apply to large, thinly populated areas." So far as Canada is concerned, this destroys the validity of his arguments, for there are few areas in Canada, outside our big towns, that have a sufficiently dense population to allow the election of members of parliament by P.R.

Though the unbiased reader will be left unsatisfied, those in search of arguments in favour of P.R. will get much satisfaction from this book. All will find it worthwhile reading, since it gives a clear, succinct exposition of the alternative vote, the second ballot, etc., in a plausible and readable manner.

—HERBERT ORLIFE.

## Co-Ops

CO-OPERATIVES: TODAY AND TOMORROW. A Canadian Survey. By George S. Mooney. Montreal Survey Committee; pp. 189; 35c.

**M**R. Mooney, Y.M.C.A. secretary who resigned his post in 1935 to run as a C.C.F. candidate, at present associate secretary of the research department of the Montreal Metropolitan Commission, was the happy choice of a group of Montreal citizens who formed a survey on co-operation, to act as their director of research. His work lay in the preparation of a study of the consumers' co-operative movement from a Canadian viewpoint. To secure proper perspective in his presentation, he collected material on co-operation the world over, its underlying principles and their modifications in various countries, and the influence on co-operative development of different political systems. Much of his material is familiar to students of the subject, some of it is quite new; but its great merit lies in the fact that this is the first Canadian study of co-operation sufficiently comprehensive to include accounts not only of the earlier history of co-operatives at home and abroad, but also of the latest and most imaginative developments. The successful application of co-operative methods to e.g., cafeterias and apartment houses, mail-order business and housing is a trend of some significance.

One of the most enlightening sections in this excellent survey is the recapitulation of early opinions and statements regarding co-operation, notably those set down in the report of the Canadian Enquiry of 1907 before which Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, Deputy Minister of Labour, gave evidence favouring the movement. The findings of the Roosevelt Inquiry Commission are also set forth and are of considerable interest.

And for tomorrow, what? Mr. Mooney believes that "the simple formulas of the co-operative idea represent the kind of an economic-social structure necessary to match the pres-

ent age of automatic power production . . . Its wider development presages an economy of evolving abundance instead of a stalemate of artificial security." The limits of co-operative possibilities have yet to be realized.

By special arrangement with the publishers, this book retails for 35c to the public, and 25c to members of co-operative societies. Not only for its interest, which is great, but as a source-book for a vast amount of material, it should reach the hands and homes of all those for whom it was written—the aware consumers of Canada.

## Social Planning

THE MACHINERY OF SOCIAL PLANNING: G. D. H. Cole; Longmans, Green; pp. 80; 85c.

THIS book, like all the work of the New Fabian Research Bureau (with whose co-operation it was prepared) is severely practical in intent. It discusses, not any general theory of socialism, but the administrative changes which are possible and probable within the scope of one term of office of a socialist government with a majority in the House of Commons in Britain. It assumes that the democratic essentials of Parliament, the Cabinet system and the civil service remain unchanged, but that each is made much more efficient and "welfare minded" by appropriate reorganization.

In the fields of (a) wages, working conditions and social services generally, and (b) of powers for economic control, what will strike the Canadian reader is the wide network of regulation and authority which is already in existence. The changes required would be small but important. The consolidation of social legislation under one or two Ministries, in particular, could proceed without undue haste. With regard to existing semi-socialized industries and Commissions the recommendation is instructive. They should be brought much more closely under the control of appropriate government departments; "under capitalist governments every effort has been made to defeat the possibility of planned control by making the bodies set up for their conduct independent of any co-ordinating authority." This is certainly true, e.g., of the Central Electricity Board or the London Passenger Transport Board in relation to the Ministry of Transport.

The most important sections of the book are those which deal with the central body for economic planning. Mr. Cole recommends the appointment of such a body in provisional form immediately, to be developed as rapidly as possible into a complete Ministry of Economic Planning, with regional representatives and a separate Cabinet minister responsible finally to the Prime Minister. This proposal is the result of a careful consideration of alternative arrangements which merits the close attention of all social planners on the British model. Equally important are the appointments of "junior ministers," provision for allowing Members of Parliament with the necessary qualifications to be members of Commissions, the ranking of Commission chairmen as Parliamentary secretaries, and other proposals for making Parliament more of a responsible body with every man a job, and less a "talking shop" full of redundant back-benchers. Those who fear bureaucracy and the piling of one government department on another are catered for in the concluding summary.

The text is succinct, kept plainly to the point, and complete in eighty pages. But in these days when it is so vital to have wider public discussion of the possibilities of efficient democracy, an important booklet of this type should be much cheaper.

—LEONARD MARSH.

## This and That

A PERSONALIST MANIFESTO: Emmanuel Mounier; Longmans Green; pp. 296; \$2.25.

ABOUT six years ago there appeared in Paris a new periodical bearing the significant name "Esprit." It was the mouthpiece of a new movement embracing Catholics, non-Catholic Christians and non-Christians, united in the attempt to establish spiritual values as supreme both in thought and in organised society. Rapidly groups were organised in many centres known as "Friends of Esprit," and their researches and conclusions have issued in this manifesto edited by their central figure, a brilliant young graduate of the Sorbonne. The work is translated by "the monks of St. John's Abbey," and the abundance of vivid phrases and epithets attests the quality of this version. Fresh evaluations of existing schools and parties may be found here. Capitalism is rejected without compromise as centred in "anonymous money" and impersonal profit. Fascism is seen as centred in an abstraction from personal life called the state. National Socialism, however, in contrast offers no worship to the static state but is devotion to the collective historical community of the nation. The editor warns against any attempt to disregard the genuine spiritual forces released in these movements. Paganism we recognize in the German type but it is "florid, having faith in man. A current of love flows from people to Fuehrer and if you wish to astonish a Nazi tell him that he lives under a dictatorship." Communism is seen as producing a "new Marxian man" but one who rapidly passes over into the petty bourgeois which is the supreme abhorrence. "Revolution motivated only by ideals of abundance and security can but lead after the first fervor of revolt" to such a disaster.

Woman's personal life pictured here, of course with the French outlook, is drab and sordid and as centred in the needle. She "embroiders at 18, makes layettes at 30, and darts at 60." Children are regarded by most systems as mathematical units but motherhood must be seen as the begetting of actual creative persons. The critical in the volume overshadows the constructive yet the object of the Friends is not so much to promulgate a programme, as to foster a courageous attitude towards every problem and situation. The Manifesto is decidedly a stimulating piece of work.

—ERNEST THOMAS.

MOULDERS OF NATIONAL DESTINIES: F. H. Soward; Oxford Press, Toronto; pp. 203, illustrated; \$1.50.

PROFESSOR Soward has gathered together in this volume a series of radio addresses dealing with the political leaders of the post-war world. In these brief ten-page character sketches one could hardly look for more than an elementary outline; but that outline gives a clear impression of the outlook and contributions of the figures under review. It is useful rather on the background than on the actual present-day policies of such figures as Stalin and Hitler and Mussolini—after all, Hitler's activities since 1933 could hardly be compressed into two pages with any degree of adequacy. And the sketches of such figures as Pilsudski and Venizelos and Dollfuss provide useful brief summaries of their roles in the events of the past twenty years.

**NAMES** Will you please send us the names and addresses of those friends you consider logical prospects for the CANADIAN FORUM? We shall be glad to send them a free sample copy.

Address CANADIAN FORUM, 28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada.



CLARENCE A. GAGNON: Albert H. Robson; with 10 illustrations; Ryerson Press (Canadian Artists Series); pp. 32; \$1.00 (50c paper.)

**H**ERE is another booklet in Mr. Robson's series on Canadian artists, this time on a living painter, Clarence Gagnon, who was well-known as an etcher before he became famous as the painter of Quebec habitant villages, and more recently the illustrator of a sumptuous edition of Maria Chapdelaine.

Gagnon, whose ancestors came to Quebec in 1643, was born in Montreal, and studied with William Brymner, who taught so many of the Canadian born painters who are exhibiting to-day.

From his sojourn in Paris from 1904 on, it is not surprising that Gagnon should have been one of the first to introduce French Impressionism into Canadian painting and to exploit the brilliant atmospheric possibilities of Canadian landscape. He has a great enthusiasm for French Canadian handicrafts and his pictures lend a romantic air of gaiety and carnival to habitants and houses and sleigh-riding in Quebec.

The series of booklets should be useful to teachers facing the problem of acquainting pupils with Canadian artists, and yet often far away themselves from sources of information and from collections of pictures. The illustrations in colour are excellent, and the text gives a biographical sketch and notes on the illustrations.

—H. K. F.

THE FAITHFUL MOHAWKS: John Wolfe Lydekker, with a foreword by Lord Tweedsmuir; Macmillan (Cambridge); pp. 206; \$4.00.

**A** TECHNIQUE of colonial administration which has been successfully used in many parts of the world is one which dissipates the aggressions of subject peoples by inciting them to warfare with one another. If Powers are competing for the possession of territory it may even be possible to enlist natives as allies and send them to fight the soldiers of other nations. This was done on numerous occasions by the nations which shared in the conquest of North America. By capturing the allegiance of some segments of the native populations Pizzaro, with a small force, overpowered the Incas and Cortez captured Tenochtitlan. By similar tactics the English won the St. Lawrence Valley from the French. The native agents in this instance were the Mohawk. This tribe was one of those united before the European occupation in the Iroquois confederacy. The French and English vied with one another through the years from 1664-1774 for the allegiance of the Five Nations of this confederacy. The Mohawk wavered, particularly during the years when French Jesuits travelled among them. The presence of these missionaries caused the government of

Great Britain to become restive as to the fidelity of the Mohawk. Agents were required to combat the French influence: English missionaries were indicated. A request to this effect was made to the Lord Commissioners of Trade by the colonial Governor of New York. It received support in England from the newly formed Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Commissioners of Trade accepted the proposal and two missionaries were despatched.

Mr. Lydekker's book portrays in great detail the decisive role of these and other missionaries from the Society in preserving the allegiance of the Mohawk. Throughout the struggle for Canada (1774-1776) the Mohawk were an integral part of the English military forces. They took part in numerous engagements and helped in the capture of Quebec. The fact that the Mohawk remained loyal to Britain and participated actively in the war with France was due principally to the prestige and far-reaching influence of the ministers from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

—PHILLEO NASH.

WHAT WAR MEANS: Japanese Terror in China: H. J. Timperley; Ryerson Press; pp. 228; \$2.00.

**T**HE China Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian has here collected well-authenticated accounts from eye-witnesses of the conduct of the Japanese army before and after their occupation of vast regions and many large cities of China. It is a tale of wanton destruction of civilian life and property on a scale previously unheard of, and the horror is almost inconceivable. One example is enough. Some 50,000 undisciplined Japanese soldiers were turned loose in Nanking, from which all Chinese soldiers had withdrawn. Unarmed Chinese to the number of 40,000 were killed, many of them machine-gunned, many deliberately burned to death, and others used for bayonet practice. A Japanese paper stated that in Nanking the refugees "respectfully kneel by the side of the road in joyful thanks" as the Japanese soldiers march past.

—C. A. A.

JOSIE AND JOE: Ruth Gipson Plowhead; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 262; \$2.50.

**A** CHILDREN'S story about a little girl who wanted to be like her twin brother until she discovered, as the blurb succinctly points out, that life could be as exciting for little girls in their own way as it was for little boys. We learn that she joined the 4-H Club and it made a different girl of her. It's the sort of book that most of us read in great numbers when we were about ten years old. This may, or may not, have been the beginning of all our troubles.

## TYPE IT, DON'T WRITE IT!

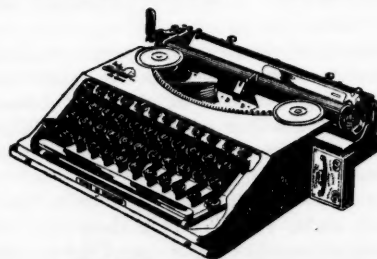
### Empire Baby Typewriter

Standard keyboard, back-spacer, automatic ribbon reverse, margin release.

The lightest and smallest four bank typewriter in the world. British precision workmanship. Sold and serviced from coast to coast.

SEE YOUR NEAREST DEALER OR WRITE TO

**M. P. HOFSTETTER, Importers**  
77 Adelaide Street West Toronto, Canada



PRICE ONLY **\$45.00**

## READING LIST

### SUBJECT — RACIAL MINORITIES IN CANADA.

(A large part of the material in this list was obtained through the help of Miss E. R. Younge.)

#### I.

- Agriculture, Climate and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada.** By W. B. Hurd and T. W. Grinley. A statistical atlas. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1931.) Obtainable from libraries only.
- Analysis of the Stages in the Growth of Population in Canada.** Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1935. (King's Printer, Ottawa.)
- Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada.** C. B. Sissons (Dent, 1916.)
- Canada:** André Siegfried (Cape, 1937, 306 pp.; \$3.00.)
- Canada To-day:** F. R. Scott (Oxford University Press, Toronto; 151 pp.; \$1.25 and 0.75.)
- Canada 1938:** Official Handbook. Dominion Bureau of Statistics (King's Printer, Ottawa; 25 cts.)
- Canada Year Book 1938:** D.B.S. (King's Printer, Ottawa, \$1.50.)
- Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. VII., Group Settlement:** ethnic communities in Western Canada. C. A. Dawson, 1936; 391 pp.
- Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times:** J. W. Dafoe (Macmillan, 1931.)
- Colonization of Canada, The:** D. C. Harvey (Clarke Irwin, Toronto, 1936) Radio addresses broadcast by the C.B.C.
- Colonization of Western Canada:** Robert England (1936. Good bibliography.)
- Does Canada Need Immigrants?** Eugene Forsey. (L.S.R. Pamphlet, 5 cents.)
- Emigration from the British Isles:** W. A. Carrothers (London, P. S. King, 1929) 327 pp.
- Origin, Birthplace, Language, Etc., of the Canadian People:** W. B. Hurd. 1. Based on 1921 census—published 1929; 2. Based on 1931 census—published 1937 (D.B.S., Ottawa.)
- Our Canadian Mosaic:** K. A. Foster (Toronto 1926, Y.W.C.A. Dominion Council, 150 pp.)
- Population Problems in the U. S. and Canada:** L. I. Dublin (Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, 1931) 318 pp.
- The Separate School Question in Canada:** George M. Weir (Ryerson Press, 1934.)
- Study in Canadian Immigration,** A: W. G. Smith (Ryerson Press, 1920.)

#### II.

- Father Lacombe—The black-robed Voyageur:** K. Hughes (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1920) 471 pp.
- Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier:** O. D. Skelton (Toronto 1921.)
- The Clash: A Study in Nationalities:** W. H. Moore (1918.)
- The Evolution of French Canada:** Bracq (Macmillan 1926) 467 pp. Bibliography.
- Indian Background of Canadian History:** Diamond Jeness, 1937 (King's Printer, 25 cts.)

- The Central European Immigrant in Canada:** Robert England (Macmillan 1929) 238 pp.
- The Ukrainian Canadians:** Charles H. Young, M.A. (Nelsons, 1931) 318 pp. Bibliography.
- Japanese Immigration:** R. L. Buell. (World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Vol. VII., No. 56, 1924.)
- Japanese Canadians, The:** C. H. Young-Helen R. Y. Reid (U. of Toronto Press 1938) \$2.25; 292 pp. Bibliography.
- Orientalism in Canada:** S. S. Osterhout (Ryerson Press, 1929.)
- Oriental Occupation of B.C.:** T. R. C. McInnes (Sun Publishing Co., Vancouver.)

The Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, publishes annual reports—at prices varying from 10 cents to 25 cents. These may be obtained from the King's Printer, Ottawa.

A catalogue of all government publications may also be obtained from the King's Printer.

### III. ARTICLES

- Canadian Born Orientals:** A. P. Woolcott. (Canadian Forum, Nov., 1930.)
- Canada's Oriental Immigrants:** Charles J. Woodsworth (Canadian Forum, Nov., 1937.)
- Decline of the Anglo-Saxon Canadians:** W. B. Hurd (Maclean's, Sept. 1, 1937.)
- Germans in Nova Scotia:** E. Richter (Dalhousie Review, Jan., 1936.)
- The Japanese Canadian:** S. Ichiyé Hayakawa (Dalhousie Review, Vol. XVI, 1936, p. 16.)
- Norse Canadians:** Clifford R. Kopas (Maclean's, April 15, 1935) Arrival of Norwegian settlers in 1894.
- Underprivileged Canadians:** H. F. Angus (Queen's Quarterly—Summer 1931.)
- British Indian Policy in Nova Scotia to 1760:** R. O. MacFarlane (Canadian Historical Review, June, 1938.)

The Canadian Historical Review publishes in each number a list of recent publications on Canadian public affairs.

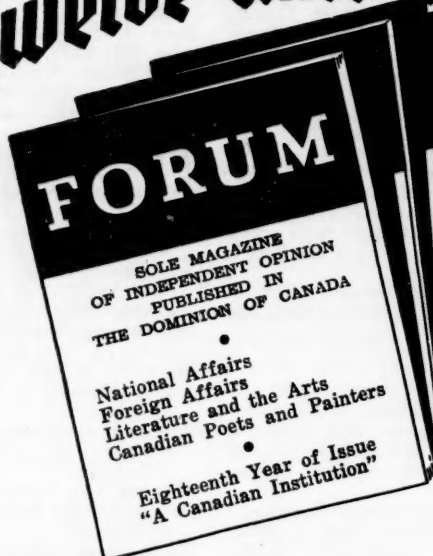
## BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention in this list does not preclude review in this or a later issue.)

- Moulders of National Destinies:** F. H. Soward; Oxford, pp. 203; \$1.50.
- A New Canadian Anthology,** Edit. by Alan Creighton and Hilda M. Ridley; Crucible Press; pp. 236.
- The Czechs and Their Minorities:** Diplomatus; Nelson (Butterworth); pp. 83; \$1.50.
- Czechoslovakia Within:** Bertram de Colonna; Nelson (Butterworth); pp. 105; \$1.50.
- Problems in Canadian Unity:** Ed. Violet Anderson; Nelson; pp. 153; \$1.50.
- Sir Walter Scott, Bart:** Sir Herbert Grierson; Macmillan (Constable); pp. 320; \$6.00.
- Growth of a Man:** Mazo de la Roche; Macmillan; pp. 377; \$2.25.
- Oscar Wilde:** Frank Harris, with preface by Bernard Shaw; Macmillan (Constable); pp. 379; \$3.25.

- Roosevelt:** Emil Ludwig; Macmillan (Viking Press); pp. 350; \$3.35.
- Blue Star:** Kunegunde Duncan, told from the life of Corabella Fellows; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 211; \$2.50.
- The Doomsday Men:** J. B. Priestly; Macmillan; pp. 312; \$2.25.
- The Crowning of a King:** Arnold Zweig; Macmillan (Viking Press); pp. 458; \$2.75.
- Dead Ned:** John Masefield; Macmillan; pp. 289; \$2.75.
- Little Steel:** Upton Sinclair; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 308; \$2.50.
- The Baker's Daughter:** D. E. Stevenson; pp. 275; \$2.25.
- Rococo:** The Life and Times of Prince Henry of Prussia, 1762-1802; A. E. Grantham; Nelson (Cape); pp. 255; \$3.00.
- Modes of Thought:** A. N. Whitehead; Macmillan; pp. 241; \$2.75.
- Anatomy of Oxford:** an Anthology compiled by C. Day Lewis and Charles Fenby; Nelson (Cape); pp. 318; \$2.50.
- My Seventy Years:** Mrs. George Black, M.P.; pp. 317; \$2.75.
- Miserable Stripes:** Warden Lewis; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 315; \$2.50.
- Judges of the Supreme Court:** C. A. M. Ewing; Univ. Minnesota Press; pp. 124; \$2.00.
- Humour and Humanity:** Stephen Leacock; Nelson (Thornton Butterworth); pp. 254; 75c.
- Man's Hope:** Andre Malraux; Macmillan (Random House); pp. 511; \$2.75.
- The English Revolution:** G. M. Trevelyan; Nelson (Thornton Butterworth); pp. 255; \$1.50.
- Co-operatives in America:** Ellis Cowling; Longmans (Coward McCann); pp. 206; \$2.75.
- Three Bright Pebbles:** Leslie Ford; Oxford (Farrar & Rinehart); pp. 311; \$2.25.
- Studs Lonigan:** James T. Farrell; (The Trilogy in one volume); Macmillan (Modern Library); pp. 465; \$1.49.
- Derelicts:** William McFee; Doubleday Doran; pp. 439; \$2.75.
- The Summer Soldier:** Leane Zugsmith; Macmillan (Random House); pp. 290; \$2.75.
- Bulletin Industrial Relations;** Section Queen's University:
- Industrial Retirement Plans in Canada.**
- The Right To Organize:** Recent Canadian Legislation.
- Industrial Relations:** Papers presented at a Conference on Industrial Relations at Queen's University, Sept. 14-17, 1938.
- The Secret Kingdom:** Walter Greenwood; Nelson (Cape); pp. 413; \$2.75.
- Poems:** Kenneth Allott; Longmans (Hogarth); pp. 64; \$1.50.
- Solitude:** (Poem); V. Sackville West; Longmans (Hogarth); pp. 56; \$1.50.
- Whitman:** Newton Arvin; Macmillan; pp. 320; \$3.00.
- Mile End:** Kathleen Nott; Longmans (Hogarth); pp. 510; \$2.75.
- The Political and Social Doctrine of Communism:** R. Palme Dutt; Longmans (Hogarth); pp. 44; 35c.
- Books and the People:** Margaret Cole; Longmans (Hogarth); pp. 48; 50c.

# A Twelve-Time Christmas Gift



## Give It To Your Friends For A Christmas Present

**Special Gift Rate \$1.50 For Twelve Months**

FILL UP THIS FORM (OR A SHEET OF PAPER) AND RETURN TO US.  
WE WILL POST THE MAGAZINE WITH A CHRISTMAS CARD IN  
YOUR NAME TO ARRIVE ON CHRISTMAS DAY.

### MAIL THIS NOW!

To: THE CANADIAN FORUM, 28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada, Wa. 5118.  
For the enclosed \$..... please enter..... Gift Subscriptions (\$1.50 each)  
for the following.

Name ..... Name .....

Address ..... Address .....

Name ..... Name .....

Address ..... Address .....

Note: Your own renewal can be accepted at this reduced rate if accompanied by a  
gift subscription.

### MAIL THIS NOW!



